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R E V I E W
O F
Mr. PHILLIPS'S
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
L I F E
O F
REGINALD POLE.

Etsi enim grave per se est SEDITIONIS crimen, quocunque tempore, et cujuscunque operâ existat : tamen alii aliis multò modestius in seditione se gerunt.

POLUS, De Unit. Eccles. Lib. 1.

By GLOCESTER RIDLEY, L.L.B.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. WHISTON and B. WHITE, in *Fleet-Street* ; and J. DODSLEY, in *Pall-Mall*.

M.DCC.LXVI.

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TO THE
K I N G.

S I R,

THE following Vindication of the Doctrines of the Church of *England*, and of the Submission of all her Members to their KING AS SUPREME, is humbly offered to your MAJESTY, as to the Defender of her equally

qually pure and peaceable Faith.

That your MAJESTY may be long preserved, to recommend the Fruits of that Faith by your Royal Example ; and that your Subjects may shew the powerful Influences of it in the Virtue of their Lives, and the Loyalty of their Affections : that they may in particular be zealous to maintain, against all attempts of foreign Usurpation, your just Authority, on which their invaluable Liberties, not only Ecclesiastical but Civil, depend ; and that your MAJESTY's whole Reign

(v)

Reign may be crowned with
every Sort of Happiness, na-
tional and domestick, is the
earnest and daily Prayer of

Y^{our} MAJESTY'S

most faithful

and most devoted

Subject and Servant,

Glocester Ridley.

T A B L E

O F

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E R R A T A.

- Page 6. line 30. for *Father in law* r. *Brother in law*.
85. for *Alexnder* read *Aleander*.
122. for §. 16. r. §. 15.
line 18. for *inplifications* r. *implications*
137. for *comparisons* r. *comparison*.
142. line 25. for *doubtless* r. *perhaps*.
175. Note, for *Clericq;* r. *Clericiq;*
185. line 12. before *no force* add *of*.
268. Note for *intelleētos* r. *intellectus*.

OLD FOLIO

Acute End of Salisbury.

John Nevill Lord Montagu.
of Warwick.

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↓ * EDW. IV. ↓	↓ † EDMUND E. of Rutland. ↓
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↓ † EDW. V. ↓	↓ † RICHARD D. of York. ↓	↓ ELISABETH married HEN. VI ↓ HENRY VI
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- ↓ Slain in battle fighting against the King.
- * Seized the crown after the murder of his
- † Murdered.
- § Put to death for treason.

A
R E V I E W
O F T H E
L I F E
O F
R E G I N A L D P O L E.

MR. *Phillips* has lately published the Life of REGINALD POLE, for the entertainment and instruction of his Countrymen. To excite our curiosity he informs us, that ‘ the subject is new, not
‘ having been attempted by any one before in our
‘ language;’^a yet, that it ‘ descends to him by a
‘ kind of inheritance, having been collected before
‘ by his great Uncle, *William Joyner*, in his short
‘ Memoirs,’^b near a hundred years ago. He likewise recommends his History to us from the exactness and precision of its Plan, not wandering into digressions on the times and persons, in which and with whom his Hero lived, but confining himself

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strictly

^a Pref. p. xiii.

^b x.

strictly to his Subject, which a Biographer should always have in view, and never lose sight of it: ^c yet sometimes, to avoid satiety, he ventures ^c to hold ^c his principal Figure off; ^d and in order to embellish the spot he undertook to cultivate, ^c lets in ^c an extensive and delightful neighbourhood, ^c in the ^c instances of exemplary virtue, and its opposite, ^c in high life, and in both Sexes with which that ^c Date abounds, and the revolutions which the fortunes of particular persons underwent in those ^c times. ^f This, the Author's own account of the novelty of his Subject, and the correctness of his Plan, I leave to the admiration of the Reader. The severe Rules for Biography, which he professes to follow, laid an obligation on him, though not on others, to observe them: but the unreasonableness of those rules, even in his own judgment, is sufficiently proved by his deviating from them in almost every page. Indeed if a Biographer write his own life, *the importance of a Man to himself* may make the rule ^c of having his subject always in view, ^c and of never losing sight of it, agreeable enough to the Writer; but then the general unimportance of the subject is likely to recommend it to but few Readers, and the Author must be content to circulate it only among his friends.

However, I shall but little concern myself with his *manner* of writing; his *design*, as far as he is pleased to open it, will deserve more notice. This he tells us, is, ^c to place Cardinal *Pole* in a ^c true, distinct, and conspicuous light, and shew ^c his

^c P. v, vi.^d vi.^e xiv.^f *ibid.* v.

' his whole conduct to have been one uniform System
 ' of the most exalted, and at the same time, the
 ' most amiable virtues, which can adorn a Man of
 ' Letters, a Patriot, a Christian, and a Prelate.'^g
 This strong impression in his favor, ' which he
 ' himself feels (although he seems aware it may
 ' have raised him to a strain, which sobriety of
 ' thought cannot approve) he hopes will be able
 ' to draw his Readers within the same vortex.'^h
 The Reader will judge for himself how much he is
 obliged to him for this attempt. He apprehends in-
 deed ' some difficulty in reconciling an *English* Rea-
 ' der to a history, which, on many accounts, must
 ' be a censure of things and persons, to which he
 ' has been used to give his approbation ; and a justi-
 ' fication of what he has been accustomed to con-
 ' demn :'ⁱ But these, on the Reader's side, he re-
 presents as prejudices (without suspecting any on his
 own part) and desires us to step two hundred years
 back, to the manners, religion, and policy of the
 persons we either approve, or find fault with ; and
 not try a man by the *Forest* Laws, who lived under
 those of the *Confessor*.^k But why not step fifteen
 hundred years back, and try them by the *Gospel*
 Laws ? These he will allow to have been enacted
 before *Reginald* was born, or the Council of *Trent*
 called. Let us judge of the beauty and propor-
 tion of the Cardinal, by that stature and fulness
 which is the measure of a Christian, rather than by
 the shadow, which the placing of the lights, by the
 Gentleman who shews him, occasions him to cast.
 This is ' an impartial universal standard'^l which

B 2

Mr.

Mr. *Phillips* indeed talks of, but tells us not where it is to be found. And had not this Writer mistaken the comparatively modern decrees of the *Roman* Church for that Standard, he would have seen no reason for preparing so superb a base to render more conspicuous this ungrateful traitor to his King, and this seditious enemy to his Country.

The Biographer's general design is to recommend the Popish Doctrines; as the best mean to recommend them, he endeavours to establish the Pope's Supremacy; and the method he uses to excite his Readers to attempt the recovery of this Supremacy to the Pope, is the example of *Reginald Pole*: Against this general design, I shall, as occasions offer, shew, that the doctrines he would recommend are *unscriptural*; the mean to establish them is *seditious* and *treasonable*; and the history framed to excite his Readers is *false* or *misrepresented*.

It may not only be of use to the Readers of that Work, to be put upon their guard; but even to Mr. *Phillips*, in giving him back the image of Himself, by pointing out some of his mistakes: if they were mere mistakes, owing to the heat of prepossession, a view of them may serve to bring him down from those heights *which sobriety of thought cannot approve*; if they are wilful misrepresentations, and his cooler thoughts approve the malice, I hope, at least, it will keep his Readers from being *drawn into the same vortex*.

§. 1. Pole's
Parentage and
Views.

Characters, like pictures, often appear different from the Situation of the spectators; so it has happened with respect to *Reginald Pole*: for, besides the

the prejudices of Papists and Protestants, his life was so cast betwixt *England* and *Italy*, that neither his countrymen nor foreigners saw the whole of him : His birth, parentage, ancestors, obligations, views and connections in *England* impress a form upon his conduct, of which the *Italians*, as strangers, were incompetent judges ; his qualities and accomplishments, which in great measure he acquired in *Italy*, and chiefly displayed there, were less seen in *England*, where he chose not to exert them. The *Italians* therefore are apt to dwell with rapture on *these* ; which the *English* deny not to have been shining, but were too distant from their observation to make equally strong impressions : while they look with horror on *the former*, as exhibiting the strongest features of ingratitude, resentment, and treason ; which the *Italians*, although they see them, yet, the distance softening them to their eyes, are wont to extenuate or overlook. That *milder merit of the heart*,^a which distinguished him among his favorites at *Padua*, is lost to us amidst that most illiberal abuse, with which he foams against his King and Benefactor : the appearances of humanity and disinterestedness, which he put on at *Rome*, drop off when we look at him travelling from Court to Court, to rouse up the Princes of *Europe* to invade his Country, to spirit up civil wars in the bowels of it ; and during his short administration here, bathing his hands in the blood of his Countrymen. Yet all this can bigotry and superstition consecrate into Virtue, nay into Patriotism, nay into a tender love for that very King, and as *the least equivocal pledge of his loyalty and affection*.^b

B 3

Be

^a Pref. p. xii.^b Hist. p. 67.

Be it, that he was naturally of a mild and humane disposition: what was able to drive him so violently from his natural bent? Mr. *Phillips* represents it as proceeding from his zeal for religion, his affection to his King, and his love of his Country. These will offer themselves to examination in the course of this review. At present it must appear a paradox, to urge a zeal for religion as the defence of rebellion; an affection for his King as the cause of attempting to depose him; and invasions, civil wars, and cruel executions, as the proofs of his love for his Country. A review of his life, as related by Mr. *Phillips* himself, may perhaps discover a cause more adæquate, and less æquivocal, powerful enough to change his natural bent, and which is supported sufficiently by history.

By birth *Reginald Pole* was nearly related to the King, not only by the Father's side, as *Beccatelli* and *Dudithius* relate, deriving them both from the *old Britons* who retired into *Wales*; but also on the Mother's side, on which Mr. *Phillips* principally insists, and has drawn out his Pedigree in a Table that he has inserted. I have, in imitation of him, given one, in which we shall find almost all the family, falling in battle, or executed on a scaffold, in contentions for the crown. His Great grandfather, *Richard Duke of York*, Heir of the House of *York*, and that of *Clarence* too, died in battle fighting against his King, *Henry VI.* to wrest the crown from him: that Duke's Father-in-law, the Earl of *Salisbury*, died at the same time, in the same cause: his eldest Son deposed *Henry VI.* murdered the Prince his Son, and seized the Throne as Heir of the House of *Clarence*, by the Title of *Edward IV*: his second Son, the Duke of *Clarence*,

Clarence, Grandfather to *Reginald*, was drowned in a butt of Malmsey, for conspiring against the King his Brother : the Duke of *Clarence's* Father-in-law, the Earl of *Warwick*, Son to the above-mentioned Earl of *Salisbury*, died, with his Brother, fighting against his King : the third Son of the Duke of *York*, usurped the Crown by the Title of *Richard III.* and, to come at it, murdered his royal Nephews *Edward V.* and his Brother the Duke of *York* : King *Richard's* Sister was Mother to the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Richard De la Pole* ; all of which pretended to the Crown, the first fell in battle in the reign of *Henry VII.* the other died by the axe under *Henry VIII.* and the last was enticed by *Lewis XII.* of *France*, to set up his claim against the same King : The only Children of the Duke of *Clarence*, were the Earl of *Warwick*, Uncle to *Reginald*, and the Countess of *Salisbury* his Mother ; the first was imprisoned as Heir of the House of *York*, by his Uncle *Richard III.* and beheaded in prison by *Henry VII.* for confederating with an impostor against the King : so there only remained the Countess of *Salisbury* and her children, of whom *Reginald* was the youngest Son. Was it impossible, or unlikely, that some seeds of ambition, which shot up so plentifully in all the other branches of the House of *York*, should pass into the constitution of one descended from such an aspiring race ? and that the tainted blood of so many Rebels should carry with it into *Reginald's* veins an hereditary corruption ? In fact, did not his elder Brother, the Lord *Montague* ; his Cousin *Courtney*, Marquis of *Exeter* ; and Lord *Montague's* Brother-in-law, Sir *Edward Nevil*, lose their heads, for contriving to advance the *Cardinal* to the crown, on

the information of another Brother of the *Cardinal*, who was concerned in the conspiracy and discovered it? And did not his Mother, the Countess of *Salisbury*, suffer as an accomplice in the same treason? with this clue in our hands, let us attend to the evolution of *Reginald's* character, as drawn forth by the series of events.

The Queen, *Catherine of Aragon*, concerned at the death of the Earl of *Warwick*, *Pole's* Uncle, whose execution had been made the condition of her marriage, by her Father, *Ferdinand*, King of *Spain*, was accustomed to say, ‘ her mind would never be
 ‘ at ease, unless the crown reverted again to the Earl
 ‘ of *Warwick's* family by a marriage of one of his
 ‘ Sister's Sons to her Daughter, and thus some reparation were made for the injustice done to the
 ‘ Brother : and among all that Lady's numerous
 ‘ offspring, she had ever shewed a predilection to *Reginald*.’^c *Reginald*, although sixteen years older than the Princess, was the youngest of those Sons, and therefore more likely than either of his elder Brothers, to be chosen for her Husband. And (perhaps to further this design) the care of the young Princess's education was, by the Queen, committed to the Countess of *Salisbury*, *Pole's* Mother. During her infancy *Pole* went abroad to qualify himself for such employments, as the King's particular regard for him might lead him to expect : which regard the King had manifested by loading him with spiritual revenues, although not yet in Orders, to the amount of 1000*l.* and a pension of 500*l.* *per annum*, payable out of the Treasury; which, according to
 Mr.

^c Life of Reg. Pole, vol. i. p. 34.

Mr. *Phillips's* calculation,^c would be betwixt seven and eight thousand pounds a year of our money. The King's extraordinary kindness, and the Queen's views in his favor made him entertain a great honor and esteem for each.

§. 2. *His Travels,* In the pursuit of his Studies he made choice of *Padua*, preferring it to the *Sorbonne*: during his residence there, the Princess was affianced to the Emperour: but on the 2d. of *January*, 1526, the Emperour, pretending the displeasure of his *Cortez*, or Parliament, because the Princess was born of an incestuous marriage, violated his oath to her, and married *Isabella* of *Portugal*. Towards the close of this year *Reginald* returns home, and finds that scruples were entertained of the legitimacy of the Princess; being the issue, as it was said, of an incestuous marriage; the King himself appearing strongly affected with these scruples. Fond of his studies, *Pole*, at his return, chose for the place of his residence, the monastery of *Carthusians* at *Shene*, where he had received his first education; it was also in the neighbourhood of *Richmond*, where the Court often was; and also of *Sion*, where were some *Religious* of the Order of *St. Bridget*. *Augustin Webster*, a professed of the *Carthusians* House at *Shene*, though now a Prior elsewhere, was his old acquaintance; a great enemy to the Divorce, and all the King's consequent proceedings, for which he suffered about eight years after: and, among the *Religious* at *Shene*, was one *Reynolds*, an intimate of *Reginald's*, who also suffered
in

in the same cause with *Webster*. Here he spent two years agreeably : but it was a School not likely to reconcile him to such measures, as tended to deprive *Catherine* of her Royalty, and *Mary* of her inheritance : measures to which he was himself sufficiently disinclined from his own private affections and interests.

But not to deprive *Reginald* of any honors, the Reader shall have the account of this retreat with all the pomp, in which his Biographer has dressed it.

‘ Hitherto, (at his return to *England*) his character had been only approved by the innocence of his manners, and a happy and cultivated genius : but a scene was now opening, and such a part assigned him, as required all the firmness and generosity of a soul superior to hope and fear, and every tender feeling of nature. This was the King’s divorce from the Queen, which, with respect to *Reginald Pole*, was one of those trials, to which only the greatest men are exposed, and to which they alone are equal. ^d

But, except as above suggested, I see not how the affair had any relation to him. And what was his behaviour on this occasion ? ‘ His studies, says Mr. *Phillips*, having been of that kind, which form a polite Scholar, not a Divine ; his years also might appear not sufficiently ripe for such a discussion : and the cause being now before the Bishop of *Rome*, its proper judge, he was so far from any obligation of forestalling the sentence, that silence was both more prudent and respectful. ^e

How did this opening of the scene require that firmness and generosity of a Soul superior to hope
‘ and

‘ and fear, and every tender feeling of nature ?’ Did the Divorce, in which he was not concerned, a theological and law question which he did not understand, and on which it did not become him to declare his opinion (the cause being before its proper judge) lay any obligation on him to retire from a Court, where he was so much caressed, and from a Prince who had shewed him such uncommon marks of his favor ? *the feelings of nature* might indeed make him resent an attempt to disappoint him in his views, by illegitimizing the Princess : but surely it was no great generosity of soul that sent him into a monastery to mutter that resentment in private. Thus it would appear, supposing Mr. *Phillips’s* representation of facts to be true : but it is not only an account drest out with more pomp than it deserves, but happens not to be supported by the Historian whom he copies. *Dudithius* supposes *Pole* to have retired to *Shene*, not ‘ that he might withdraw from a Court ‘ which was become a scene of intrigue, to which ‘ his breast was a stranger ; or because his integrity ‘ and gratitude would not allow him to interest himself less in the case or honor of the Queen, who ‘ was now treated with coldness and disregard ; † but because his disposition inclined him not to lay aside the prosecution of his studies, and says that he spent two years there *pleasantly*.* He remarks indeed,

† P. 46.

* *Reversus, magnâ et Regem ipsum et Reginam—voluptate perfudit ; omnibusq; gratissimus fuit ejus redditus. Sed ne hâc quidem ille re permoveri sic potuit, ut studiorum suorum curam ullâ ex parte deponeret ;*
ac

deed, that *afterwards*, misliking the King's proceedings, and foreseeing a storm rising upon *England* from them, he desired leave to retire to *Paris*. Making his love of study his reason for retiring to *Shene*; and his discontent at the proceedings in the divorce, his reason for quitting it, and removing to *Paris*.

About the time of *Pole's* coming over from *Italy*, the doubts concerning the lawfulness and validity of the King's marriage grew from the *Lutherans* denying the Pope's Power of Dispensation in general; which, if his marriage was questionable, (as the *Levitical* prohibitions had been confirmed by the general Councils, and received in *England*) the King apprehended would embroil the succession, and therefore was desirous to have that question examined and determined. 'Certainly (says Lord *Herbert*) as it appears to me, it was in the beginning, as much as 'He (the King) could, in favor of the Princess his 'Daughter': But, in the progress, by *Wolfey's* intrigues to marry *Henry* with the Dutches of *Alencon*, and *Henry's* love of *Ann Bolen* whom he could no otherwise obtain, he labored to be divorced from *Catherine*, and to illegitimate his Daughter, in favor of issue by *Ann Bolen*.

Alarmed at these proceedings, so destructive of that scheme which his ambition had been dreaming of, and tinctured with the Theology of *Webster* and *Reynolds*,

§ Hist. of Hen. VIII. p. 216.

ac veterem habitationem memoriâ repetens—dedit operam, ut Regis permissu ea domus sibi concederetur.—Obtinuit, ac duos inibi annos *jucundè* consumpsit. *Postea* verò, cum Regis *Henrici* animus immoderatis cupiditatibus laborare cœpisset,—imminentes toti *Angliæ* tempestates longè prospiciens *Polus* *abundum* sibi, ac tantis sese fluctibus in tempore eripiendum existimavit. *Du-dith. Vit. Pol. p. 11.*

Reynolds, he resolves to leave the Kingdom for the present ; and in order to qualify himself to judge in this cause, to quit his favorite study of the *Classicks* for that of *Divinity*. Here *Mr. Phillips* breaks out in admiration of *Reginald*, ‘ this is a sacrifice ‘ to Duty, of which they only know the price, who ‘ have experienced the difficulty of making it.’^h One would think that *Reginald* had made *Glaucus’s* exchange, and from a disinterested friendship and duty to the King, had given up gold for brass. Surely such an opinion does but little honor either to *Mr. Phillips* or to his Hero ; as if they put a greater value on the enticing words of *Man’s wisdom*,ⁱ than on the words of truth and soberness.^k Nay *Pole* would disclaim the encomium, and complain of his Biographer, as he did of *Sadolet*, for doing injury to the study of *Divinity* by this preference of the *Classicks*.^l

With this view, he did not return to *Italy*, where *Theology*, as *Erasmus* observes, was little esteemed in comparison of Pagan learning :^m but to *Paris*, which the same Writer says, was as famous for its Superiority in theological Studies, as *Rome* was for its religious Supremacy.ⁿ The King at first shewed an unwillingness to give him leave of absence, yet afterwards granted his request with a good grace ; and continued the former marks of his bounty, which he had conferred on him during his stay at *Padua*.

He spent one year at *Paris*, from *October* 1529, to the *October* following, and during his stay there, the King, desirous to have the opinion of the Learned on his case of Conscience, consulted

^h P. 82. ⁱ 1 Cor. iv. 4. ^k Acts xxvi. 25. ^l Pol. Ep. ad Sadolet, see Phil. p. 89. ^m Er. Ep. Lib. xix. Ep. 91. ⁿ Erasmi. Epist. Lib. xiv. Ep. 1.

ed the Universities of *Europe*; and sent to *Pole* to solicit the cause at *Paris*. ‘ He excused himself on account of his want of experience, and begged that some person, more conversant in the question, might be entrusted with it: and another person was joined in the commission;’ Mr. *Phillips*, from *Dudithius*, says, ‘ one of the Council came over to act in conjunction with him:’ but Mr. *Pole* tells us ‘ it was a French-man, one *Langeius*, as he calls him, who was appointed his Colleague.* This Gentleman did all the business, of which *Pole* had declared he had not a competent knowledge.’^o This, I suppose he might declare with truth, being yet but in the first year of his studies in Divinity; and *Pole* himself says, ‘ that he might with truth plead this excuse’^p: but the reason he assigns, why he might plead this excuse of incompetent knowledge, is extraordinary, ‘ not indeed from any ignorance of the case, but because the clearer knowledge he had of it, the less he knew how to act as he was desired.’[†] What credit does such a writer expect should be given him, when he professes a want of experience and competent knowledge, at that very time, that he declares, he had no *ignorance* at all of the case, but a *dislike* only? which part of this contradiction are we to believe?

^o P. 61. from *Pole de Unit. Ed. lib. 3.* ^p *Ibid.*

* Delata mihi res est, additâ Collegâ, Langeio Gallo, viro non tam nobilitate, quâ præstabat, quam literis claro. *Pol. Ep. Edv. vi. §. 12.*

† Et eram plane imperitissimus, non ego quidem ut non nossem causæ æquitatem: sed illam quo magis noram, eo minus me aptum intelligebam ad rem ex voluntate tuâ gerendam. *Pol. de Unit. Eccles. lib. iii. fol. 56.*

lieve? we shall presently see that his profession of ignorance in the case was the truth, which was great even after that time.

This behaviour raised such suspicion of his disinclination to the King's cause, that his friends thought it necessary for him to return to *England*, to clear himself, as our Biographer relates it from *Dudithius*; but *Reginald* himself informs us, that he came over to report the success of his commission. || He accordingly returns *October*, 1530, and retires again among his old acquaintance at *Shene*, and the *Religious of Sion*.

The first remarkable incident after his arrival, happened in the Convocation following, when the Clergy, having (by the antient Laws of *England*) incurred a *Premunire*, in submitting to *Wolsey* as the Pope's Legate, redeemed themselves by a large sum of money, and an acknowledgment that the King was supreme over all his Subjects, independent on the Pope; which acknowledgment was to be expressed by a new Title, excluding the Pope's authority over the Clergy, and owning the King *supreme Head of the church of England*. At first the Clergy refused this strange Title, not knowing the drift of it: but afterwards they complied. At which time Bishop *Burnet* supposes *Pole*, as Dean of *Exeter*, to have assented. Mr. *Phillips* tells us, 'He was present, as he (*Pole*) informs

|| Postquam Lutetiâ domum, confecto negotio, revertissem, ut Regi rationem legationis meæ redderem. Ep. Edv. vi. §. 14.

‘ informs us, when the Clergy’s composition was refused, on their not admitting that Title ; but not when they agreed to it.’⁹ And then, in the Notes, animadverts with great critical acumen on the Bishop’s slander, as contrary to *Pole’s* own assertion. The Bishop’s conjecture is built on *Reginald’s* being then in *England*, and Dean of *Exeter*, whose absence from the Convocation House on so important a point, it must be difficult to suppose. Against this conjecture, so reasonably founded, the Biographer adventures another conjecture, that is built upon his own acknowledged ignorance ; ‘ if conjecture, says he, of which I chuse to be sparing, may have place, it is not improbable that this absence was occasioned by circumstances, which, though unknown to us, exempted him from giving his Prince the uneasiness of an open, and at the same time, fruitless opposition.’ As far as *conjecture* goes, the Bishop has greatly the advantage : but *Pole’s* own assertion, it seems, is directly against him ; his presence at one debate when the Title was not admitted, as Mr. *Phillips* says, is mentioned in the first Book of his *Ecclesiastical Unity* : his absence from another, when the Title was granted, is in the third Book : now if this so long disjointed evidence had escaped the observation of Bishop *Burnet*, it might have been more candidly treated than to be called a slander, for the sake of the Biographer’s own friends, those sharp-sighted Criticks and Animadvertisers on the Bishop’s mistakes, *Bossuet*, *Le Grand*, and *Niceron*, who all seem to have been as inattentive to this evidence as the Bishop. But, however

ever Eagle-eyed the Discoverer of this over-sight has been, and however Mr. *Phillips* may plume himself upon it, it is a discernment, in which, unhappily, Mr. *Phillips* has no merit ; for his whole note at p. 71, 72. is entirely borrowed from Cardinal *Quirini's* first vol. of *Reginald Pole's* Epistles ; although the obligation is not mentioned by our Biographer.

Yet after all this acuteness of Cardinal *Quirini*, and triumph of Mr. *Phillips* over the Bishop, I cannot help asking a question ; whether the *me præsente*, or his presence, in the first Book does not refer to the time, when the Title, after having been demurred to, was at last acknowledged ; and whether the *non interfui*, or his absence, does not refer to the time, when the entire abolition of the Pope's power was carried, in 1534, and *Reginald* was out of the Kingdom ? This appears to me to be the truth of the case, in the passages referred to. In that of *me præsente*, *Pole* aggravates the iniquity of the King's claim in this Rhetorical manner ; ‘ The honor of
‘ being supreme Head of the Church, certainly you
‘ ought not to have asked ; you ought not to have asked
‘ with threats ; you ought not to have forced the acknowledgment of it from persons unwilling to yield
‘ it : as you did IN MY PRESENCE, when you refused
‘ to subscribe certain Instruments, containing their
‘ Offering of a great sum of money, unless it were
‘ added, that this was paid to you as supreme Head
‘ of the Church in England.* The other Passage,
C in

* P. 242, 249.

* Sed hoc dicam, hunc honorem certè petere non debuisses ; hoc dicam, petere, adhibitis etiam minis, non debuisses

in his third Book, says, the King insisted on it, that all the States or Orders in the kingdom offered him this Title: now, says he, I, who was neither present, nor heard it from any one that was present, boldly affirm not one of those Orders gave their consent.* Now all the States did not subscribe to this Title till the Year 1534, when *Pole* was abroad. Therefore his absence does not refer to the year 1531, when that title was acknowledged by the Convocation; but to the year 1534 when all the States and Orders gave their consent. In the last he was absent, being out of the kingdom: but he was present, by his own confession, in the other; for he says, that then the King forced people, who were unwilling, to acknowledge him Head of the Church of *England*. How does he know this? He himself was one of them, ME PRÆSENTE; therefore, although unwillingly, he made this acknowledgment. So that the Bishop's conjecture is confirmed, not invalidated, by *Pole's* evidence; and

Bossuet,

debuisses; ab invitis exprimere non debuisses: quemadmodum, ME QUIDEM PRÆSENTE, fecisti, qui certis diplomatis, quibus maximæ ab illis tibi concessæ pecuniæ testimonium continebatur, subscribere recusaris, nisi illud esset adscriptum, tibi eam pecuniam, ut Supremo in Angliâ Ecclesiæ capiti persolutam esse. Pol. de Unit. Eccl. Lib. i. fol. 1.

* Hunc honoris titulum tibi OMNIUM ORDINUM consensu delatum esse contendis. At ego, qui, dum hæc statuerentur, non adfui, constantissimè affirmo, nullum ordinem in hunc tuum honoris titulum consensisse.---Sed quo modo, qui non interfui, hoc scire possum? Equidem non solum non interfui, sed ne ab alio quidem, qui ipse interfuisset, accepi. Pol. de Unit. Eccles. Lib. iii. fol. 58.

Bossuet, Le Grand, and Nicéron may be excused for not remarking this as one of *Dr. Burnet's* mistakes.

But *Mr. Phillips* is persuaded, without evidence, that *Reginald* was absent when this Title was first subscribed in Convocation; and makes another attempt to account for it. 'He has not informed us, says he, of the reasons of his conduct in this particular; or how he came to be absent, at so critical a juncture, from an Assembly, to which he belonged in his spiritual capacity, and where his rank, parts, and character must have made him the chief Personage. His disinterested and intrepid behaviour in the affair of the Divorce, is a sufficient warrant that no unbecoming motive regulated his conduct in this.'

The affair of the Divorce, how disinterested or intrepid soever, was (as I apprehend) after the case of the *premunire*; if so, is preposterously placed as the justification of his preceding conduct. However, let us examine the disinterested and intrepid behaviour of *Reginald* in the affair of the Divorce.

The death of *Wolfey* in November, §. 4. *The* 1530, the month after *Pole* came over, opened two rich Benefices, *York* and *Winchester*. The King some time after, willing to be assured of *Pole's* opinion, offered him *York* (which *Dudithius* says was worth 30000*l. per annum*^u) on condition of approving the Divorce. This was a very trying point; he must either foregoe the immediate possession of the Archbishoprick, an honor, which, if he had nothing further in view, he

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^t P. 72.

^u Vita Reg. Poli, p. 14.

he would gladly have accepted ; (for, as *Starkey* tells him, he had been noted of some men to have over much respect of worldly circumstance,) ^w or else he must take Orders, which he had hitherto declined, and renounce his hopes of *Mary* and the Crown. This raised great perturbation in his mind how to act. His friends persuade him to oblige the King his Benefactor, and consult the interests of his family : Private opinion and conscience, as he says, pleaded on the other hand : at length after having diligently weighed the arguments on both sides, he promises to satisfy the King, or in other words to desert the cause of the Queen and the Princess, contrary to his conscience ; blinded, as he himself acknowledges, with a desire to oblige men, rather than to please God.* Behold this *illustrious example of firmness and generosity of soul, superior to hope and fear, and every tender feeling of nature!* For the making good this promise, an interview was appointed by the King : at which interview, no sooner did he see the King advancing toward him with great complacency, than the bare sight of him, who had thwarted his dearer scheme, so disturbed him, that resentment took place of duty, and of his promise : for a time, he could not utter a word, either of what he came
prepared

^w *Strype Mem. Eccl. vol. 1, App. p. 196.*

* Tandem verò totâ re, causâq; diligentius mecum consideratâ, collatisq; inter se argumentis, quæ in utramq; partem in mentem veniebant ; amicis dixi, sperare me viam invenisse, qua et Regis desiderio, et meæ conscientiae satisfacere possem. Atq; ita sane judicabam, studio plus hominibus obsequendi, quam Deo parendi obcæcatus. Ep. ad *Edv. VI.* in *Quirini*, vol. i. p. 258.

prepared to say, or of what the King's presence suggested ; but at length overcoming the struggle, he launched out freely against the Divorce, and the ill consequences of it. This account, instead of giving us an instance of *a trial to which only the greatest men are equal*, shews us nothing more than the common weakness of irresolute men, fluctuating betwixt the choice of a present and future advantage, and, loath to quit either, lose both. Of which folly, as soon as *Pole* was convinced he had been guilty, by the King's angrily withdrawing, this Great Man burst into tears. *Behold his disinterested and intrepid behaviour in the affair of the Divorce !*

Mr. *Phillips* tells us, that ' though *Pole* was conscious of having acted that part which alone became him, yet he felt the uneasiness of his Prince's displeasure ; and having deliberated on a proper method to remove it, he thought it most adviseable to send him his reasons in writing, with an assurance, which he knew would be acceptable, that the purport of the Letter had been communicated to nobody.' * This secrecy has in great measure prevented our seeing this Letter ; but it had that effect, that the King told Lord *Montague*, ' your Brother has given me such good reasons for behaving as he did, that I am under a necessity of taking all he wrote in good part ; and could he but gain on himself to approve of my separation from the Queen, no one would be dearer to me.' y The King's saying, that *Reginald* had given him good reasons for behaving as he did ; and yet entertaining hopes of his approving the Divorce, appears something mysterious ; but a

C 3

Letter

* P. 68.

y P. 69.

Letter of *Cranmer* to the Earl of *Wiltshire*, giving an account of some secret Letter sent by *Pole* to the King, will, I think, enable us a little better to judge of that writing, and explaine the King's meaning. Mr. *Strype*, who gives us *Cranmer's* Letter in the *Appendix* to his Life of that Prelate,^z says, he cannot tell on what occasion *Pole's* Letter was written; but guesſes it was about the year 1530; because he mentions, that the King had now lived 20 years with his Queen; and that it appears to have been written solely for the King's use. This is certainly that secret writing we wanted. It is dated 13 *June*; and *Strype* must be mistaken in assigning it to the year 1530, because *Pole* was not then arrived in *England*; *Cranmer* describes it as written with much eloquence, art, and plausibility, sufficient to deceive the people if it had been published; but not with much judgment. Among some of the contents, which he mentions, are these; ‘ He shews why he
‘ never chose to meddle in this cause, which was the
‘ trouble that thence was likely to ensue to this realm
‘ from diversity of titles; from whence what hurt
‘ might come we have had example in our Father's
‘ days by the Titles of *Lancaster* and *York*. And
‘ whereas God had given many noble gifts to the
‘ King's Grace as well of body and mind, as also of
‘ fortune, yet this exceedeth all other, that in Him
‘ all titles meet, and the realm is restored to great
‘ tranquility. He therefore ought to provide that
‘ this land do not fall again into the same misery and
‘ trouble, which may come as well by the people within
‘ this realm, which think assuredly that they have an
Heir

^z Numb. 1.

‘ *Heir already, with whom they are well contented, and*
 ‘ *would be sorry to have any other. And it would be*
 ‘ *hard to persuade them to take any other, leaving her.*’
 He dwells much on political reasons, but touches
 very slightly on what was chief in the argument,
 the religious part ; as for the Law of God, he thinks
 it may be interpreted as well for the King’s marriage
 (with *Catherine*) as against it ; yet if the King did
 undoubtedly think this marriage was against God’s
 pleasure, he could not deny but it should be well
 done for the King to refuse this marriage, and to
 take another wife : but that he himself could never
 find *in his heart* to be a setter forward thereof. And
 yet he granteth, that he hath *no good reason therefore*,
 but only affection which he beareth, and of duty
 oweth to the King’s person ; for in so doing, *he*
should not only weaken, yea and utterly take away the
Princess’s title, but also accuse the King of living in
 abominable matrimony.

By this, his own account, we find that Religion
 had very little weight in *Pole’s* argument ; God’s
 law was as much on one side as the other : his chief
 motives were political ; and that which lay closest to
 his heart was the Princess’s legitimacy and title to the
 crown. If the King attempted to set aside this, he
 doubted not but that the people would take up arms
 in her defence. Now as he declares he was not
 thoroughly convinced on which side the Scriptures
 were, the King did not despair but that in time, the
 affection he pretended, and temporal conveniencies
 might bring him over. *Henry* therefore would not en-
 tirely cast him off ; but *Pole* having views inconsistent
 with those of his Royal Master, thought he should
 get nothing here, without quitting ^{his} a plan ; which

he could not find in his heart to resolve on. The King presently named Dr. *Edward Lee* for the Archbishoprick of *York*; and *Pole*, not long after obtained leave to go to *Avignon* to pursue his studies, with the continuance of his pension.

Mr. *Phillips* tells us that it does not appear that the abatement of the King's favor, and the consequent coolness of his Courtiers, ' had any share in ' the resolution, he took soon after, of retiring a second time from *England*.^a Whereas *Beccatelli*, who says he relates nothing but what he himself saw, or was informed of by *Pole* himself, or others of undoubted credit, acquaints us, that *Pole* being troubled at the King's displeasure, and the alienation of mind in others from him, thought it prudent to retire from *England*, before his affairs were in a worse situation.^b It must be acknowledged, *Pole* himself tells us, the occasion of his retreat was the admission of *Cromwell* to the chief management of civil affairs.^c Now, beside that I dare never rely on *Pole*'s testimony when not supported by others, especially when contradicted by others, as by *Beccatelli* in this case, and that probably from *Pole*'s own information in private conversation, when he spake with less disguise; I think *Cromwell*'s promotion could not be a sufficient motive for his recess; but the frowns of the King and of the Court were. The profligate principles, which he ascribes to *Cromwell*, and assigns as the reason why he chose not to live in a Court where they prevailed, are misrepresented; and even had *Cromwell* professed them, we shall find that *Pole* was content to assist in another Court where they were confessedly

^a P. 72.

^b Vit. Pol. p. 16.

^c Apol. §. 27.

confessedly practised. To fix this charge on *Cromwell*, he presents us with a piece of advice as given by him to the King, to induce him to pursue his inclinations in the affair of the Divorce; which he could not know, being secretly delivered in the Royal Closet, but patches it up from shreds of discourse which he had heard fall from him, or were reported to him from others. Moulding a speech in this manner, and giving it for History, is too glaring an art of slander to impose upon ingenuous Inquirers, though it may mislead others. To prevail on the King, whom he represents from hearsay evidence, as about to yield to the Pope's Decree, and to give up his own judgment in the case, he makes *Cromwell* advance, that 'the nature of rectitude was variable, 'that none had a better title to change it than Kings, 'whose prerogative it was to have the very Laws derive their force and stability from their will.'^d But what occasion was there for this false maxim, (as it is, when generally proposed) when the debate in question rested upon the contrary maxim, the Law of God, which was not variable? for, as he proceeds, 'what he advanced was with no view to the 'debate in question, concerning which there was 'no cause to recede from received opinions. The 'Law of God which forbade marriage with a Brother's widow, and the decisions of the Universities having declared in his favor, what further room could there be for doubting or disputing about what was right?'^e Whoever attentively considers *Pole's* account of this advice in his Apology to *Cæsar*, section 27, will discern what must

^d P. 75.^e P. 70.

must have been the scope and force of it. Finding the King likely to be overpowered by the Pope's obstinately refusing to annul a Marriage unlawfully dispensed with, *Cromwell* observes to him, that there were some Laws not founded in natural rectitude; but arbitrarily enforced, and as capriciously dispensed with, which could not be if they were founded in nature: that of this kind were the Pope's Laws; that his refusing to annul the King's marriage was an instance of arbitrary power, which the King in his own dominions had no obligation to submit to; especially in this case, where his own will agreed with the will of God, in rejecting a marriage forbidden by him, and condemned by the general Consent of the Learned. That prudence indeed might direct an attempt to gain the Pope's approbation and permission in the case, for fear of temporal inconveniencies; but if he persisted in refusing to yield to the King, the King would be to blame to submit to the impositions of a foreign power; and that by assuming his just authority in his own dominions he might enable himself to oppose and avoid the temporal inconveniencies which might threaten him. This seems to have been the substance of *Cromwell's* advice; which appeared so reasonable, that *Pole* acknowledges, 'some of his acquaintance, who had a reputation for prudence, and had hitherto condemned the King's designs, were prevailed on to approve them.'^f Which they hardly would have done, had he insisted that the King's will was above all Law. *Pole*, as if aware of the injury done to *Cromwell* by this representation, supposes the Reader will ask, how he came to know that *Cromwell* thought,

thought, that Laws depended entirely on the will and opinion of men? This, he says, he collects from one or two conferences he had with him on his first return from *Padua*,^g when he obligingly recommended to him to add the knowledge of men and things to his academical studies; and not dream that the government of States could be carried on by the impracticable declamations of the Schools. And offered to lend him a book, if he would read it, that should lead his mind from speculation to practice. But although he never sent this Book, nor told him what it was, yet *Pole* boldly affirms it was *Machiavel's Il Principe*, because, by his spies he had discovered *Cromwell* had that book in his study, and sometimes read in it. And then proceeds to impute to *Cromwell* all the wicked politics of that Treatise. It might as logically be concluded, that I am a seditious Papist, and deny the King's Supremacy, because I have in my study, and often look into it, Mr. *Phillips's* Life of *Reginald Pole*. But whatever *Cromwell's* opinion of this Book was, the Author of it we know was a Papist; some of his most profligate maxims are drawn from the practice of *Christ's* pretended vicars; as when he would recommend to Princes the joining the Fox to the Lion, he instances in Pope *Alexander VI.* who never did, nor thought of any thing but cheating; and though no man ever promised a thing with greater asseveration, nor confirmed it with more oaths and imprecations, and observed them less; yet, understanding the world well, he never miscarried.^h And if dead Popes furnished him with his worst maxims, those maxims found approbation and privilege

^g Apol. §. 28.

^h *Il Principe*, Cap. 18.

lege from the living ones ; ‘ *Leo X.* after the work
 ‘ was published, had cherish’d the Author amongst
 ‘ his Intimates ; he had escaped the censure of *Adrian VI.* ; and *Clement VII.* to whom he had dedica-
 ‘ ted his History of *Florence*, had granted an ample
 ‘ privilege to an edition of all his works.ⁱ Yet the
Soul of one righteous man, and he a *Briton*, says Mr.
Phillips, discerned more than seven centinels from a
watchtower. For which he quotes the Book of *Pro-*
verbs at large without chapter or verse. But the
 Reader will be puzzled to find it there, it is in *Ecclus.*
 xxxvii. 14. according to the *vulgate*. But ‘ the vul-
 ‘ gate throws the *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, the *Wisdom of*
 ‘ *Solomon*, and of the *Son of Syrach* together in a con-
 ‘ fused magnificence ;’^k which confusion Mr. *Phillips*
 is inclined rather to increase than to digest. Thus
Pole discovered the iniquity of those maxims which
 some Popes had practiced and others had approved
 and recommended ; and then blames *Cromwell* for
 them.

With all due deference to this wise man, the design
 of that Treatise, which *Pole* was informed of at
Florence, and which *Machiavel* himself gives in his
 Letter to *Zenobio Buondelmonti*, is still believed among
 the *Florentines* to this day to be the true one ; against
 ill Princes and in favor of the people. The tour of
 his arguments is to prove that a despotick Prince must
 kill such and such people to secure himself. The
 people would naturally draw the conclusion he pro-
 posed they should draw, ‘ therefore suffer not such a
 ‘ Prince to be.’ His character, as delivered by tra-
 dition at *Florence*, and confirmed by his familiar let-
 ters,

ⁱ Life of Pole, p. 79. ^k Study of sacred Literature,
 &c. p. 28.

ters, now in the hands of the Abbate *del Riccio* there, is that of an honest man ; rather weak and ignorant in his private affairs ; no Scholar, for the beauties, borrowed from the Greek and Latin writers in his works were supplied by *Marcellus Virgilius*, as *Machiavel* himself owned to *Jovius* ; he kept the best company at *Florence* ; and was one of the *Confraternita demi-religiosa's*, of which there are several in that city : these are so many voluntary Religious Societies ; that which he belonged to, used to meet once a week for devotion, in a Church of theirs ; and among other things, one of the Society used to make a moral Discourse to the rest. There are several of these Discourses of *Machiavel's* in the same Abbe's hands ; and one in the Great Duke's, in *lode della penitenza*, spoken by him in the same Society. This account of *Machiavel* was given to my ingenious and learned Friend the Author of *Polymetis*, in 1732, by Dr. *Cocchi*, Physician to the Great Duke of *Florence*. He was rather suspected of being a Conspirator, than an encourager of Despotism ; as the great praises he bestowed on *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and the suspicions of his being engaged with the *Soderini* against the House of *Medicis*, prove ; this is supposed to lie at the bottom of his *il Principe*. So that the sharp sighted *Pole* saw only what lay on the surface, and could not penetrate the depth of *Machiavel's* design : He, in his low situation, could see only the skirmishing parties in front ; but the centinels from the watch tower could discern the main strength of the army advancing behind.

The strongest, nay only argument he gives to prove that *Cromwell* adopted those maxims is, his own recess from *England* as soon as he saw that minister

nister come into favor *: but *Beccatelli* gives another and sufficient reason for his quitting the Court, and that was the coldness he found in it.† If the promotion of a minister, who taught, that the Prince's Will is the measure of the Law, forced him to fly from *England* as an inhospitable shore, what made him so soon after to take shelter at the Court of *Rome*, where almost as soon as he arrived, he acknowledges the same maxims prevailed, and had brought religion into contempt ; which he and his Collegues refer to this origine, that some Popes heaped up Teachers after their own Lusts,‡ not to learn from them what they ought to do, but that they should take pains and employ their wit to find out ways how it might be lawful for them to do what they pleased, insomuch, that the Pope's will and pleasure, whatever it be, must needs be the rule for all that he does ; which doubtless would end in believing every thing

* Nullum tamen producam, sed id argumentum, quod ad adstruendam fidem meam in hac re plus omnibus testibus valeat, id est, subitum discessum meum, ut eum in autoritate apud Regem, crescere videbam. A-pol. §. xxviii.

† Hâc Regis offensione permotus Polus, cum aliorum etiam in se animos eâ re concitados videret, faciendum sibi omnino putavit, ut ante, quam pejore res loco esse inciperent, ex Angliâ excederet. p. 16.

‡ Principium horum malorum inde fuisse, quod nonnulli Pontifices tui prædecessores, prurientes auribus, ut inquit Apostolus Paulus, coacervarent sibi magistros ad desideria sua, non ut ab eis discerent, quod facere deberent, sed ut eorum studio et calliditate inveniretur ratio, quâ liceret, quod liberet ;—ita quod voluntas Pontificis, qualiscunque ea fuerit, sit regula, quâ ejus operationes ac actiones dirigantur : ex quo procul dubio effici, ut quicquid libeat, id etiam liceat. Consilium de emendandâ Ecclesiâ.

thing lawful that he had a mind to. Is it credible then, that *Cromwell's* holding the like opinion (if he did hold it) was indeed the reason of *Pole's* leaving the Court of *Henry*? of *his* leaving it, who had been taught by his own Friends, and who had resolved to follow their advice, 'to steer an oblique course, if it would equally bring him into Port?'¹ And as to *Cromwell's* character, if we take it from his actions, or from those who knew him well, it shines with a lustre which *Pole* and *Phillips* cannot obscure. Lord *Herbert* tells us, he was noted in the exercise of his places of Judicature to have used much moderation; and in his greatest pomp, to have taken notice, and been thankful to mean persons of his old acquaintance; and therein had a virtue which his master the Cardinal (*Wolfey*) wanted.^m And when the Cardinal was falling, by an uncommon gratitude and greatness of mind, remembring his obligations to his Benefactor, he purposely got into the House of Commons, to defend him, and succeeded in his generous service. A virtue, for want of which his fellow Domestick, *Gardiner*, was infamous, who deserted the falling Cardinal; a virtue to which the boasted *Pole* was a stranger, who returned the unexampled kindness and bounty of his Royal Master with contempt, abuse, differtion, and treason. *Wolfey's* penetration was discernible in his choice of those whom he employed about him, three of which were very eminent; *More*, *Gardiner*, and *Cromwell*: but *Cromwell* has the preference in the comparison, which was made by a Cotemporary, who succeeded *Pole* in the chair of *Canterbury*;

¹ P. 66.^m P. 462.

Canterbury; he tells us that *More* was a better Scholar than *Gardiner*; that *Gardiner* was a better Lawyer than *More*; and that *Cromwell* had more good sense and virtue than either of them.*

Indeed Mr. *Phillips* is much embarrassed, and often led to contradict his original, by not adjusting the times when these two scenes were acted, relating to the Divorce, and the King's new Title. He therefore says, that *York* was offered to him 'a few days after Cardinal *Wolsey's* death,' which happened in *Nov.*ⁿ: *Beccatelli* and *Dudithius* both say, it was kept vacant four months† He calls the event of the King's Title 'a fresh opportunity of testifying his steadiness,'^o as if it happened after the other: but *Cranmer's* letter, giving an account of *Pole's* writing to the King, on the affair of the Divorce, was in *June*, whereas the Convocation, which subscribed the Title, broke up in *March*. And this displacing the facts is done, that he may make his steadiness on the one event (when he behaved with the greatest irresoluteness that ever man did) an excuse for his behaviour in another, that really happened before. Yet our Biographer reproves all the Historians for their disagreement with

ⁿ P. 64.

^o P. 69.

* Ex quibus Morus Gardinero doctior, eoq; Gardinerus juris peritior fuit: at Cromwellus utroq; prudentior atq; sanctior. Antiquit. Britann. Eccles. in vitâ Warhami, p. 467.

† Optionem dat, ut, utram malit, ex duabus Ecclesiis, quæ tam fortè vacabant Eboracensem et Wintoniensem sibi deligat. atq; hujus quidem rei causâ Rex quatuor menses Wintoniensem Episcopatum, post etiam Eboracensem Archiepiscopatum penes se retinuit. *Dudith.* p. 13.

with matter of fact, in mistaking the year of *Pole's* first return to *England*, and corrects it from the dates of two of *Bembo's* Letters, which disagreement he allows is not material: but, says he, 'the reader is entitled to accuracy even in things which are not so.'^p This discovery of the mistake from the date of *Bembo's* letters is taken, without acknowledgment, from *Quirini*; ^q but the boast of accuracy, even in trifles, is the Biographer's own. And how far he deserves his own commendation we have just seen. Surely if he thought fit to assume such merit to himself for accuracy, in a point acknowledged not material, and which he borrowed from another, he ought to have taken more care in points more material. The series of events, which lie disorderly confused in him, may be thus adjusted:

1530. Oct. *Pole* returns to *England*. *Phill.* p. 63.

Nov. 29. *Wolfsey's* death vacates the sees of *York* and *Winchester*. *Consentiunt omnes*.

Dec. *Pole* acquainted with the King's design of promoting him to one of the vacant Sees.

Pol. Epist. ad *Edw. VI.*

1531. Jan. 6. The Parliament meets. *Ld. Herbert*, p. 319.

March 22. The Supremacy passed. *Rapin*, vol. 1.

April. After four months vacancy either of the vacant Sees is offered to *Pole*. *Dud.* p. 3.

— Many conferences betwixt him and the D. of *Norfolk*.

D May

^p Note at p. 24.

^q Vol. 1. p. 270.

May. About the end of it, the month expires which was given *Pole* to consider on the terms of accepting the King's offer.
June. In the beginning of it, *Pole's* interview with the King.

— 13. *Cranmer's* letter to the Earl of *Wiltshire.* *Strype.*

July. *Lee* was elect of *York.* *Strype.*

Dec. *Lee* takes possession of the Archbishoprick, having been vacant a complete year: he died *Sept.* 1544, having fate paulo minus 13 years. *Godwyn de Præsul.*

1532. *Jan.* *Pole* might go to *Avignon*; which being in his second year, *Dudithius*, reckoning the running year, might call two years in *England.*

Sept. Leaves *Avignon* before he had completed a year there. *Dudithius* and *Bembo.*

And now, on *Reginald's* taking leave of *England*, let us review his character as it hitherto appears; of a gentle disposition, easily wrought on, and thence fluctuating, fond of classical learning and polite literature, very animated in his style, and elegant in his compositions, with a generosity of spirit that inclined him to ambition,* and a fondness for outward circumstance; his knowledge of Divinity but little, and his judgment

* *Starkey's* Letters.

* *Ardor ille, qui animis præstantibus ad appetendas res magnas comes adesse solet, nihil mihi non de te vel maximum pollicebatur. Sadol. Epist. ad Polum. Quirini, vol. 1. Pg. 419.*

ment more exercised in Politicks than Theology. With regard to his Prince, I doubt not but that he himself thought he had a sincere love and honor for him, from relation, from duty, from uncommon obligations, from affection to his daughter with whom he hoped, nay had been taught to believe, that he ought in justice to receive the crown in dowry. But when the King's conduct endangered her succession, it then appeared how little, comparatively, the other springs had contributed to his regard for his master.

In the two concerning points which came before him, the Supremacy and Divorce, he by no means acted like the Great Man, which his Biographer would represent him; from fear he consented to the first, against his judgment: and from ambition opposed the other, *though he had no good reason therefore, but because it would weaken, yea utterly take away the Princess's Title.*

But I must leave *Reginald* in his way to *Avignon* to wait on Mr. *Phillips*, who censures all the Abettors of the Divorce, as creating difficulties in a very plain case, averse from truth, mercenaries, and condemned even by their own party. This question was long ventilated, by our ancestors; Mr. *Phillips* and I have nothing new to offer; but if he will revive stale objections, he makes it necessary to produce the old answers. ‘The pretence, says he, ‘for calling the legality of the King's marriage in ‘question, was a prohibition recorded in *Leviticus*, ‘by which the *Jews* were forbidden to marry the ‘widow of a deceased Brother; and it was urged, ‘that the Law was equally binding under the Chris-
D 2
‘tian,

' tian and Mosaical dispensation ; and being found-
 ' ed on the nature of things, could not be dispensed
 ' with. This objection had been fully considered,
 ' when the marriage was in debate ; and answered
 ' in the following manner, to the entire satisfaction of
 ' all parties : That the Law in question, even at
 ' the time it was enacted, admitted of exceptions,
 ' which were not only authorised, but even pre-
 ' scribed, by God himself. That the Law-giver had
 ' supposed the case of a man dying without issue, and
 ' not only permitted, but commanded his Brother to
 ' marry the widow, on pain of being declared infam-
 ' ous. In this manner the question concerning
 ' *Henry's* marriage would have been of no very
 ' difficult solution, had the search of truth alone
 ' been intended ; but the abettors of a powerful
 ' King's passion so perplexed it, that the heads of
 ' men grew giddy in endeavouring to find any mean-
 ' ing of the Law, but the true.'^s

Perhaps, strictly speaking, marriage against nature
 is only betwixt Parents and Children : that between
 Brothers and Sisters was, at first, so far from being
 contrary to nature, that it was necessary, among
 the immediate Children of *Adam* : but after the
 world was increased, and there was choice, for the
 preservation of chastity, laws were made to prohibit
 the congress of near relations, as of brothers and
 sisters by consanguinity or affinity ; in which regard
 to common decency most nations did agree ; inasmuch
 that *Diodorus Siculus* calls it a common custom,*
 and

* P. 36, 37.

* Κοινὸν ἔθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων. *Diodor. Sicul. lib. 1. cap.*
 2.

and *Plato* calls marriages against that common decency, impious and detested by the Gods.† In some cases, and in the *Jewish* state more particularly, God dispensed with his own law, in which state that dispensation, in those cases, was certainly valid. In the Christian Law, the general rule is, *provide things honest in the sight of all men; and things of good report*; to determine those points with more precision, with respect to marriage, the old Canons of the Church tell us what marriages are contrary to this honesty and good report, guided by the *Levitical* prohibitions and the common consent of mankind: among which, that between a man and his Brother's widow is expressly mentioned.† I presume it will not be denied, that these marriages were forbidden by the old Canons of the Church: then it certainly lay upon the maintainers of the validity of such marriages, to shew, that the same authority that prohibited those marriages had since allowed them; or that they had given to the Pope a power of dispensing with them. That the Pope *assumea* to himself such a power is easily granted; but that any General Council had given him such power did not appear.

But the judgment of those, who condemned the marriage as null from the beginning, says Mr. *Phillips*, was purchased with money. ‘The King, foreseeing the little prospect of success (at the Pope's Court) imagined a pecuniary influence might purchase of the Schools what it had failed of

D 3

† Μὴδὰ μὲν οὐκ αἰσχροὶ καὶ θεομισοὶ. *Plato de leg. lib. viii.*

† Nata, Soror, Neptis, Metertera, *Fratris et Uxor*, Et Patris conjux, mater, Privigna, noverca, Uxorisque Soror, Privigni nata, nurusque, Atque Soror Patris, conjungi lege vetantur.

‘ at the Court of *Rome* ; and sent his agents to have
 ‘ the opinion of the most celebrated universities,
 ‘ that is, to buy their votes.’^t I shall not distinguish
 betwixt bribes offered to influence judgment, and re-
 wards given by a munificent Prince ; for doubtless
 both were practiced. History abundantly informs us,
 that sometimes Princes are mean enough to corrupt,
 and that Scholars are not always virtuous enough to
 resist their temptations. Had Mr. *Phillips* admitted
 this on the side of the Pope and the Emperour on
 this occasion, as well as on the King’s part, he had
 saved me the trouble of repeating from Bp. *Burnet*,
 that the influences on the Emperour’s side were so
 greatly superior, that it was a common saying at
Ferrara, that they, who wrote on the King’s side, had
 only crowns, but they, who wrote on the other side,
 had good benefices.^u And of mentioning from Lord
Herbert the testimony of *Croke*, the King’s agent in
Italy, who declares, that at *Bononia* many were re-
 tained by the Pope, and that those, who had concur-
 red with the King, refused both bribes and rewards,
 saying, that what the Spirit had freely suggested, they
 as freely communicated. And that both there and at
Padua, the Emperour by threats, solicitations, bribes,
 and preferments, both intimidated the King’s friends,
 and kept his own steady.^w Nor should I have reminded
 him, unless thus needlessly urged, that his Holiness him-
 self, who had acknowledged the King’s cause to be just,
 and promised that he would give sentence in his favor ;
 yet afterwards, being threatened by the Emperour,
 that he would depose him for some canonical objec-
 tions ; and moved by other selfish and political reasons,
 altered his opinion, and decided against it, prostitu-

ting

^t P. 59. ^u His hist. vol. 1. p. 90. ^w Herb. p. 301.

ting not only 'genius and learning, as lucrative
'ware;' but even, his pretended infallibility, and
the guidance of the Spirit, as a mean, 'not to
'instruct mankind, but to mislead them.'^x

But it seems our Protestant Brethren condemned
us; 'The Protestant Doctors of *Germany* were like-
'wise to be consulted; and it must be acknowledged,
'to their honor, that though political reasons might
'have biased them towards a compliance to the King
'of *England* and his mistress, who was suspected to
'be a *Lutheran*, yet they chose to act uprightly and
'give their real sentiments, though in favor of a
'Prince (*Charles V.*) who was their adversary.'^y
This again is borrowed from *Quirini*; but whether
Phillips, *Quirini*, or *Larry* be the witness, matters
not; let us examine the fact. The *Lutherans* were
divided on the question; *all* agreed that the Pope's
dispensation wrought no effect; but some judged,
that the King's marriage was not void and null, as it
was not against the Law of *Nature*; and because the
Levitical prohibitions did not oblige Christians.
These seem not to have attended to what was ob-
served before, that the Interpreters of the evangelical
Law, the old Canons and General Councils had con-
firmed this prohibition, as such marriages were con-
trary to *things honest and of good report*: others
thought, that the marriage at first was against good
morals, and therefore ought not to have been made;
but yet, having been made, ought not to be dissolved.
They, and we, judged it a *nefarious* marriage, con-
demned by the Christian Church, and not dispensed
with by a sufficient authority.

D 4

But

^x P. 60.^y P. 60, quoted from *Larry Hist. Ang.*

§. 6. *Account* But this was a pretence only, says
of Ann Bolen. Mr. *Phillips* : ‘ the more powerful
 ‘ spring to these proceedings was the
 ‘ influence of *Ann Bolen*, who was lately returned
 ‘ from the *French Court*, and now began to appear
 ‘ at that of *England*, in the bloom of youth, and
 ‘ with all those blandishments, by which art, and a
 ‘ desire to please, attract attention. The King, not
 ‘ long after, was seized with a violent passion for
 ‘ her, which she practiced every art to inflame, yet
 ‘ refused to gratify.’^z He had mentioned two other
 concurring motives, dislike to the Queen, now not
 likely to bring him more children ; and *Wolfey’s* in-
 trigues in resentment against the Emperour. ‘ But
 ‘ as none of these reasons could be pleaded as argu-
 ‘ ments for dissolving his marriage ; he alledged a
 ‘ concern for his people on account of the illegiti-
 ‘ macy, and consequently the doubtful right of the
 ‘ Princess *Mary* to the crown ; and an uneasiness of
 ‘ conscience concerning the lawfulness of marriage
 ‘ with a Brother’s Relict.’^a Sometimes he tells us,
 ‘ *Wolfey’s* revengeful Spirit set the Divorce on foot,’^b
 at other times he doubts whether it gave birth to the
 project, or only encouraged and flattered the King in
 it ;^c but roundly asserts *the most powerful spring* was
 his love of *Ann Bolen*.

The Emperour and *French King’s* Ambassadors
 had objected to *Mary’s* legitimacy ; whether seriously
 or politically matters not, the effect was the same,
 the bringing the validity of the King’s marriage into
 question. And *Henry* remembered what *Richard III.*
 had

P. 38.

^a P. 38.^b P. 28.^c P. 37.

had objected against the children of *Edward IV.* that they were illegitimate and incapable of inheriting the crown, from the less grounded pretence of the invalidity of their Father's marriage. And *Lord Herbert* from originals and Records, which he had so carefully examined as to recommend his account for a more than ordinary piece of History, declares the King did it, as it appears to him, at first, in favor of the Princess his Daughter. I mean not to deny that the King's passion for *Ann Bolen* was a powerful impulse, superadded in the progress of the affair; whom he first solicited for a Mistress, intending to take as his future Queen some one who should be the cement of a powerful alliance: but when he found her virtue too great to be corrupted, his passion then got the better of his Politicks. This *Mr. Phillips* represents as Coquetry in *Ann Bolen*, practicing every art to inflame the King's passion, but yet refusing to gratify it. But I am persuaded a more simple and truer account may be given of her conduct from her love of the young *Lord Percy*; for whose sake she set her price to the King at a higher rate than she imagined he would bid up to; and her disappointment in that match made her never forgive *Wolsey*, whom she apprehended to be the cause of it. As to the actual Divorce, whatever the motives were which induced the King to it, it was well observed by one in the House of Lords, after *Cranmer* had determined it, ' I cannot find what the Pope
' should take ill; for is any thing done by our Arch-
' bishop, but what, not only the Pope himself, but the
' most famous Universities of Christendom have de-
' clared lawful? So that, if after six years suspension
' of the cause, we have determined the business as
' (the

‘ (the Pope) himself confessed he would have done,
 ‘ but for fear of the Emperour; what offence can
 ‘ he take? will he complain, he is not able to do us
 ‘ justice, and yet be scandalized if it be done by o-
 ‘ thers? or shall the executing what he thought rea-
 ‘ sonable be judged a fault, when the not executing
 ‘ thereof must (in all equity) have made us the great-
 ‘ er criminals?’^d

But amongst many other injurious reflections on
Ann Bolen's memory, which shall be considered, I
 must not conceal one piece of justice which Mr.
Phillips has done her, in rejecting the absurd malice
 of *Sanders* and other Catholick Writers, who make
 her daughter to the King himself, begotten by him
 before he was fourteen years old; debauched by her
 Father's Chaplain and Butler at fifteen, although she
 had quitted *England* when she was but seven; de-
 formed to a shocking degree, and yet was the minion
 to two Kings, and so generally desired as to obtain
 the name of the Hackney of *England*. This absurd
 slander Mr. *Phillips* can no longer believe; ‘ It
 ‘ ought, says he, at the same time to be remark-
 ‘ ed, that as He (*Pole*) gives not the least insinu-
 ‘ ation of any looseness of behaviour in *Ann Bolen*,
 ‘ before *Henry's* passion for her, or of a criminal
 ‘ commerce between her Mother and the King,
 ‘ of which she has been said to be the fruit, these
 ‘ reports are to be looked on as destitute of foun-
 ‘ dation. Had the facts been real, they would not
 ‘ have escaped the knowledge of one so well in-
 ‘ formed; nor been overlooked in a work, where
 ‘ every aggravation, which regards this article, is set
 ‘ forth

^d Herb. Hist. p. 167.

‘ forth in all its iniquity, and heightened with all
 ‘ the coloring that indignation and eloquence can
 ‘ give.’* The candor of this acknowledgment,
 such as it is, is challenged by Cardinal *Quirini*, who
 says, ‘ Candor, which I profess, obliges me to ac-
 ‘ knowledge, that what *Sanders* and other Catholick
 ‘ Writers frequently deliver of *Ann Bolen’s* looseness
 ‘ before her marriage with *Henry* is not a little con-
 ‘ tradicted by *Pole’s* silence : and this I willingly do,
 ‘ although no one has done it before me.’* See the
 boasted Candor of Catholicks ; who, after having
 defamed a Queen’s virtue through 200 years, though
 by the means of glaring absurdities, challenge a me-
 rit for believing impossibilities no longer ! And how
 poor must that Gentleman’s own stock of candor be,
 who can find in his heart to rob Cardinal *Quirini* of
 this trifling reputation ? And yet this little, and that
 too not his own, Mr. *Phillips* grudges, and is un-
 willing to afford without a considerable drawback.
 For he tells us ‘ all *Pole* says of her amounts to a
 ‘ sarcasm, that she must needs be chaste, as she chose
 ‘ to be the King’s Wife, rather than his Mistress :
 ‘ but that she might have learnt, how soon he was
 ‘ fated with those who had belonged to him in the
 ‘ latter quality ; and if other examples were want-
 ‘ ing,

* P. 61, 62.

* Candor, quem ipse profiteor, profectò effecit, ut,
 dum agerem de nuptiis Annæ Bolenæ cum Henrico,
 Rege, quæ ad earum infamiam augendam à Sandero,
 aliisq; scriptoribus Catholicis passim traduntur de illius
 sceminæ antequam Henrico conjungeretur libidinibus,
 Poli in libro de unitate Catholicâ silentio non medi-
 ocriter oppugnari, volens libensq; (nemine quod qui-
 dem sciam, præeunte) faterer. *Quirini*, vol. 1. p. 6.

‘ ing, that of her own Sister was enough.’^f This charge was more explicitly declared just before, where he told us that *Pole* shews ‘ how inexcusable ‘ the King was in pretending that a dispensation to ‘ marry his Brother’s Widow was invalid, at the ‘ same time that he was suing for one, which would ‘ enable him to marry a person, whose Sister he had ‘ corrupted, provided the nullity of his former marriage could be proved.’^g Methinks their candor diminishes apace, and will not only entirely disappear, but degenerate into malice, if intended, by giving up a charge of incest which cannot be true, to draw us to admit it in another instance, which they cannot prove. Let us then examine the charge and the evidence. This too, as usual, is taken immediately from *Quirini*; who says, ‘ *Pole* at length ‘ reproaches the King, that at that very time, when ‘ he rejected as null the Pope’s dispensation to marry ‘ his Brother’s Widow, he earnestly requested even ‘ of the Pope himself, that he might marry the sister ‘ of one who had been his Mistress; *and also had ‘ obtained that request*, if it were proved that the Pope ‘ had no power of dispensing in the former case.’* *Quirini*, we see, not only says, that the King was absurd enough to ask a dispensation of this kind of
the

^f P. 62.^g P. 61.

* Demum exprobat, Regem, quo ipso tempore Pontificis dispensationem de uxore fratris ducendâ ceu irritam rejiciebat, ab eodem Pontifice magnâ vi contendisse, ut sibi liceret ducere Sororem ejus, quæ concubina sua fuisset: IDQUE ETIAM IMPETRASSE, si ante constisset, non habuisse jus Pontificem priore illâ in causâ dispensandi. *Quirini*, vol. 1. p. 235.

the Pope, but also that the Pope was ready to grant it, if it should be proved that he had no right to dispense in the former case. So that *Clement VII*, as well as *Henry VIII*, comes in for a share of this reproach ; but Mr. *Phillips* cautiously omits the words *IDQUE ETIAM IMPETRASSE*, and even had obtained his request, though he translates all the other words round them. Perhaps he knew not how to believe the Pope would grant a dispensation in this case, if it should be proved that he had no right to dispense in a similar one. And to do justice to the Pope, I think *Reginald*, from whom the reproach first comes, was mistaken in so representing the case. There is a Dispensation mentioned by Lord *Herbert*, which, from some dispatches in our Archives, his Lordship thinks probable ; on which I suppose this whole charge is founded : it sets forth that *Henry* had petitioned, that his marriage with his Brother's Widow, *for which no canonical and valid dispensation had been obtained*, might be made void, and he be permitted to marry with any other woman, though she were one who had been contracted to another, (provided the marriage had not been consummated) or related to him in the second or more distant degree of consanguinity, or in the first degree of affinity, whether by licit or illicit congress, except his Brother's Widow.* Which petition

* Nullâ saltem canonicâ seu validâ dispensatione desuper obtentâ, ut cum quâcunque aliâ muliere, etiam si illa talis sit, quæ aliàs cum alio matrimonium contraxerit, (dummodò, illud carnali copulâ non consummaverit) etiam si tibi alias secundo vel remotiori consanguinitatis, aut primo affinitatis gradu, ex quocunque licito seu illicito coitu conjuncta, dummodo Relicta dicti fratris

petition the Pope granted, if the contract with *Catharine* was invalid and declared so to be. Thus the King in this petition to the Pope, does not pretend that he had no power to dispense in the case of a Brother's Widow, but that the pretended dispensation of *Julius II.* was invalid from some suspicions of forgery; and prays that the former marriage being set aside as uncanonical, he might marry with *any woman* else, although it should happen that some canonical impediments were in the way. It ought to be observed, that so long as the King solicited his Divorce, as a point of *Law*, in the Pope's Court, he did not pretend to deny his power to dispense; but began his suit on a presumption of forgery in the supposed dispensation of *Julius II.*; for though he believed the marriage null from the beginning, and which no dispensation could authorise, yet he thought it would give less offence and trouble, if he could get it dissolved by the same power, by which it was at first contracted: but when, provoked by the Pope's delusive dealings for fear of the Emperour, he brought it before the Universities of *Europe*, as a Question in *Divinity*, then the Pope's power to dispense in such cases was agitated.

The Dispensation referred to was dated 27 *Dec.* 1527; so that the petition, upon which it was grounded, was made before *Ann Bolen* was known to be the intended Successor to the Queen; at a time when they were looking out for a match: and that they

fratris tui non fuerit, ac etiam si cognatione spirituali vel legali tibi conjuncta extiterit...matrimonium licite contrahere, et in eo liberè remanere, et ex eâ prolem legitimam suscipere possis. *Herb. Hist. of Hen. VIII.* p. 251.

they might not seem to deny the Pope's power of dispensing, an ample dispensation was asked, not for a particular person, but for *any Woman*, although canonical impediments might intervene. Now, to represent the King denying the Pope a power to dispense with his marrying his Brother's Widow, and at the same instant asking him to dispense with his marrying his Concubine's Sister; and the Pope as absurdly granting such dispensation, provided it should be proved that he had no right to do it, is so extraordinary a behaviour, that it calls for a very extraordinary evidence to support it. And if that, and the reproach cast upon *Ann Bolen's* Sister have no other ground or evidence than this Dispensation, nothing more will be proved, than the rashness and malice of the first reporter, which was *Reginald Pole*; and who gives no proof of what he advances, in both cases, unless his reference to this Dispensation is intended to be one. This is one of those facts or circumstances 'of which no other documents are extant but in *Pole's* writings^h.'

But says Mr. *Phillips*, 'had this been slander, or even of doubtful report, it would have been unworthy and inconsistent with his character who relates itⁱ.' How far it is inconsistent with his real character let others judge: nay *Quirini*, and our Biographer, admit of *aggravations*; *Quirini* acknowledging that in this place he exerted all the powers, not to say the bitterness of his eloquence, to disparage the King's second marriage^k, or as Mr. *Phillips* translates him, 'where every aggravation, which regards this article, is set forth in all its iniquity, and

^h Pref. p. xii.

ⁱ P. 61.

^k Vol. i. p. 236.

‘ and *heightened* with all the coloring that indignation and eloquence can give ¹.’ Both of them confessing that *Pole* put the worst construction that he could upon all circumstances of this marriage, which he so detested.

A specimen of these aggravations Mr. *Phillips* gives us, on this very affair ; for to prove that Queen *Catharine* was a virgin Widow, he asserts, 1st. That *Arthur* was but fourteen years old when he died.—Whereas he died in his sixteenth year, therefore of ability to know his wife, being born 20th *September*, 1486, and died 2d *April*, 1502. 2dly. He urges his weakly constitution at the time of marriage.—The decay of his constitution began not to appear till the shrovetide after his marriage, which was three months after it, and was occasioned by his too free use of the marriage bed. 3dly. That the Queen declared upon oath, that *Arthur* left her a maiden.—It must indeed be difficult for us to contradict her in this case : yet we can produce (beside the evidence of those, who saw them bedded, and left them together by themselves) her own Evidence ; that is, the Breve, which was impetrated by the Queen ; in which it is set forth, that *Arthur* and *Catharine* had been lawfully married, and had consummated their marriage.* His 4th reason is, because *Henry* confessed to the Emperour, that he found her a Maid. When, or on what occasion, *Henry* confessed this, I recollect not ; there-

¹ P. 62.

* Matrimonium per verba legitimè de præsenti contraxeritis, illudq; carnali copulâ consummaveritis. Breve quod impetratum est ad Reginae instantiam. Herb. Hist. Hen. VIII. p. 239, 227.

therefore can say nothing to it; but if no other documents are extant of it, than *Pole's* bare word, the Reader by this time is able to judge what credit is due to that, when he is in a fit of *aggravating and heightening*, and when indignation mixes his colors.

However to invalidate the credit of witnesses which contradict *Pole's* affirmations above-mentioned, Mr. *Phillips* says, that 'they had been garbled chiefly ' out of the Kinsmen or Creatures of the King or ' Mrs. *Ann Bolen*.^m These witnesses were 1. The Marquis of *Dorset* and the Bishop of *Ely*, as to *Arthur's* able age. 2. The Duke of *Suffolk* for *Arthur's* decay three months after marriage, in consequence of it. And 3. The Pope, *Catharine* herself, or certainly her Friends who procured the Breve, and the old Dutchess of *Norfolk* and Vice-Countess *Fitzwaters*, for the consummation.

But, says Mr. *Phillips*, 'had it been a slander, it ' must have raised the clamor, not only of the *English*, but of all foreigners against him.ⁿ' This also is borrowed from *Quirini*. With respect to the *English*, was it not resented, not only by the King and Nation in general, but even by *Pole's* nearest relations and dearest Friends? and has not the indignation continued from that day to this, except in the reign of his Queen *Mary*, and among some seditious Writers since, who are willing to be seduced by him? as to foreigners, they were strangers to these facts, and knew them only by *Pole's* report: they therefore could not be expected to clamor against slanders, which they knew not to be such.

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Some

^m P. 57. ⁿ P. 61. v. 1. p. 236.

Some other mistakes and misrepresentations with regard to *Ann Bolen*, by Mr. *Phillips*, must not pass unnoticed; and therefore they shall be thrown here, that all which relates to her may appear together.

‘ She had been educated, says he, at the Court of *France*, which was then a school of Gallantry, and had returned to *England* a great proficient in it.’ What does he mean by being a great proficient in the school of Gallantry, before she left *France*? is it not to insinuate a suspicion of looseness of behaviour, of which he had thought it just to acquit her before *Henry*’s passion for her? This is a Legerdemain in the art of writing, to insinuate a crime while you deny it. He tells us, in the same page, that ‘ she had imbibed the doctrines of *Calvin*’.^{*} How came she to know them? *Calvin* studied Civil Law under *Alciate* at *Bourges*, which Mr. *Phillips* knows, from Cardinal *Quirini*, could not be before the year 1529 when *Alciate* left *Avignon* to teach at *Bourges**. After that he taught Greek; and it was still later, when he quitted these studies for Divinity. If her return to *England* was, as I suppose it, in the year 1525, *Calvin*, who was born in 1509, could be but fifteen or sixteen years old, when she left *France*; that he should have broached new doctrines, and she imbibed them by that time, is not credible. That she might be taught to dislike some of the Popish corruptions, by *James Lefevre*, is not improbable; a learned man, who, although he op-
posed

* P. 123.

P P, 82.

* Imo verò eundem (*Alciatum*) jam anno 1529 *Avenionem* reliquisse, et *Biturigas* commigrasse. *Quirini*, vol. 1. p. 273.

posed many Popish errors, was no disciple, but rather the Forerunner of *Luther*: he never left the communion of the *Roman Church*; but for teaching that Christ was our only Mediator, and that the Saints could not help us, was persecuted by the *French monks*, and greatly esteemed for his piety and learning by the Dutchess of *Alençon*, and by her protected at this very time, when *Ann Bolen* was in her service, and left it to return to *England*.^a ‘BUT, says Mr. *Phillips*, on coming to *England*, she secretly favored the Tenets of *Luther*.’ The adverbitive BUT implies, that she changed *Calvinism*, which she could not be acquainted with, for *Lutheranism*, of which there is no Evidence; disgusted with some Popish errors and superstitions, as above accounted for, she might be. Having made her a *Calvinist* against sense, he now against charity makes her a *Lutheran*, for this shrewd reason, ‘the latitude which the Patriarch of that sect allowed his followers, and which he afterwards extended to license Polygamy in favor of the Landgrave of *Hesse*, could not but appear very commodious to the general tenor of her life.’ If the latitude, which Mr. *Phillips* here reproaches, means the chaste marriage, which *Luther* recommended, in preference to an unclean and licentious celibacy, it is no dishonor to the lady that she approved it by the general tenor of her life: And as to Polygamy, she had no occasion to fly to the Patriarch of the *Lutherans* for a licence, since the Patriarch of the West, the Bishop of *Rome*, voluntarily, of his own motion, actually offered the King, in favor of *Anne Bo-*

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^a Gerdesii Hist. Reform. tom. iv. p. 16. ‘p. 124,
Ibid.

len herself, a licence of that kind, * which was rejected.

Then follow near two pages of ribaldry, scandal, and inconsistency: after which he concludes her character with this Note; ‘*Stowe, Fuller, Burnet, Collier, Echard* and our Historians in general, seem to agree, in this character of *Ann Bolen*, as each of them relates some of the particulars here mentioned.’ If this Biographer were to write the Life of the chaste *Susanna*, would he think he did the part of a just Historian should he report, that *she was a fair woman and one that feared the Lord*: but that she had been repeatedly guilty of Adultery with a certain young man, once by accompanying with him under a mastick-tree, and once under a holm-tree? And then in proof of this representation say, that the Author of *the History of Susanna*, and the Two Elders in general seem to agree in this character of her, as each of them relates some of the particulars here mentioned? The greatest virtue cannot escape such arts of defamation. In the next Note he observes, ‘a Letter to the King, supposed to have been written by her, when she was in the Tower, is cited by our Historians; and given by Mr. *Addison* as an instance of that eloquence, by which innocence in distress expresses itself. But she, who was so well acquainted with the King’s cruel and unrelenting temper,

† P. 125.

* Superioribus diebus, Pontifex secreto, veluti rem quam magni faceret, mihi proposuit conditionem hujusmodi, Concedi posse vestræ Majestati, ut duas uxores habeat. Epist. Greg. Cassalis ad Regem Henricum. 18 Sept. 1530. *Herbert’s Hist. of H. 8. p. 302.*

temper, and yet declares on the scaffold, that there never was a gentler and more merciful Prince, might, with as little regard to veracity persist in the denial of a crime, of which she stood convicted.' If her gentleness and meekness forgave the King so great an injury, and was desirous to turn the Spectators thoughts from the particular cruelty of her death to what she believed was his general disposition; such more than ordinary charity did not deserve so perverse an interpretation. The reach of *Shakespear's* powerful genius, when he would represent the amiable virtues of the injured *Desdemona*, to excite pity in the Spectators for her, and indignation at the revilers of suffering innocence, could not imagine any thing more affecting, than to represent her in similar circumstances to those of *Ann Bolen*.

Desd. A guiltless death I die.

Emil. O who has done this deed?

Desd. Nobody, I myself. Farewel. [*she dies*].
Commend me to my kind Lord. O farewel.

Othell. Why how should she be murdered?

Emil. Alas, who knows?

Othell. You heard her say herself, it was not I.

Emil. She said so, I must needs report a truth.

Othell. She's like a lyar gone to burn in Hell :
'Twas I that kill'd her.

Emil. O the more Angel she;
And you the blacker Divel. *Othello, Act V.*

If Mr. *Phillips* thinks it impossible, that she could imagine the King had any clemency or gentleness in his nature, I refer him to his Idol *Reginald*, who attests the same thing. He tells the King, that the

first years of his reign were illustrious for piety, justice, CLEMENCY, and liberality.* In his letter to Cardinal *Rodolphus*, he describes him as naturally religious, modest, KIND, liberal, and CLEMENT.† And this was his real opinion, as we may judge from his friend *Contareni*, who probably took his impression of the King from his conversation with *Pole*: Good God! says he, how is it possible that a disposition so MILD, so GENTLE, which seemed formed by nature to deserve well of mankind, should be so altered ‡? That he was altered with respect to *Ann Bolen* her death declared; but overlooking her particular injury, she recommends him to his people by his general temper; which *Pole* and *Contareni* agree, with her, was gentle and merciful; and she would agree, with them, that it was of late much altered. Thus her testimony is true and consistent; and from one in her circumstances, just falling undeservedly by her Husband's hand, a further testimony of her own truly Christian disposition. While *Pole*, disappointed in a favorite scheme

* Quid enim non promittebant præclaræ illæ virtutes, quæ primis annis principatus tui in te maximè elucebant? in quibus primum pietas, quæ una omnium aliarum et totius humanæ felicitatis quasi fundamentum est, se præferebat, cui adjunctæ erant, quæ maximè in oculis hominum eminere solent, justitia, CLEMENTIA, liberalitas. De Unit. Eccles. Lib. iii.

† Cum ipsum naturâ in religionem propensissimum, institutorumq; majorum suorum maximè observantem, modestum, benignum, suâ sponte liberalem, et CLEMENTEM. *Pol. Ep. ad Rodolph. Cardinalem*, in *Quirini* vol. 2. p. 18.

‡ Qui fieri potest, per Deum immortalem! ut animus ille tam mitis, tam mansuetus, ut ad bene merendum de hominum genere à naturâ factus esse videtur, sit adeò immutatus. *Quirini*, vol. 2. p. 20.

scheme, cannot restrain his resentment, but pours it forth in the foulest language, inconsistent with truth and with himself ; for, in contradiction to the character he had before given, which was that of his cool and unprejudiced heart, in his apology to the Emperour, he says, ‘ amongst the various instances of justice, liberality, and other virtues, which recommended the laudable part of his life, he was never known to have done one single Act of Clemency. §’ So contrary are (not the colors only, but) the lines and features of his Portraits, even in the same subject, when affection or indignation guides the pencil !

§. 7. *The King asks Pole's opinion on the Divorce and Supremacy.*

But it is time to return to Mr. *Pole* at *Avignon*. Digressions on *Laura's* Sepulchre, and *Alciates's* Lectures on Civil Law, which the bare mention of that City occasioned, and which again are borrowed from *Quirini*, I pass over as nothing relative to our Subject.

The climate of *Avignon* not agreeing with *Reginald*, he proceeded to *Padua*, where, and at *Venice*, he chiefly resided. His *Italian* acquaintance appear to have been men of learning, dignity, and reputation ; nor would I wish to detract from the praises, which they, who best knew him, give of *Pole's* literary accomplishments, and Gentleman-like behaviour.

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§. To the passage produced by Mr. *Phillips* may be added, from the same Apology, crudelitas non tam videtur à Sathanâ infusa, quam in naturâ ejus insita. Apolog. ad Cæsarem. §. xix.

The Bishop of *Verona* espoused the King's cause at *Rome*; *Flaminius* in many points thought with the Protestants; *Caraffa* also, at that time remarkable for his strict life, though afterwards he was a most furious Papelin, was a beloved Intimate; and from that intimacy was so persuaded that *Pole* himself was inclined to the Protestants, that he could never conquer his suspicion: And among his acquaintance, not mentioned by Mr. *Phillips*, was *Peter Martyr*, a celebrated Teacher amongst the *Lutherans*. All these were *Pole's* acquaintance at this time in *Italy*; not to mention *Thomas Starkey* an Englishman, who also greatly favored the King's proceedings. With these, men of virtue and learning, although most of them attached to the Pope's interest, he was soon sensible of a scandalous abuse of power in the Bishop of *Rome* and his Court, and that many corruptions had crept into the Church; and he appears to have been less determined in his mind against the King's proceedings than before. *Henry* was divorced, the Princess illegitimated, the Pope's authority disclaimed, no prospect of remedy appeared, and the continued bounty of his master gave him assurance of his continued regard; opposition to him, under these circumstances, might appear fruitless and imprudent: indeed many false reports of the King's having altered the Doctrines of the Church seem to have kept him in some suspense. His intimate friend *Thomas Starkey*, left him in *Italy*, and returned to *England* toward the end of the year 1534, and was introduced to Court by *Cromwell*. From him the King was desirous to know *Pole's* real sentiments in both points, the marriage and supremacy; that he might be certain whether his annual

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munificence was bestowed on a friend or an enemy. The Biographer, with as little truth as charity, represents the King as entertaining no real doubt of *Pole's* sentiments : but that he chose this should be the date of that implacable enmity, with which he ever after persecuted him and his Family. *Pole* was either undetermined, or had kept his opinions to himself with so much reserve, that *Starkey* could go no further than to tell the King, that he was assured Mr. *Pole's* Learning and Judgment were so much improved by the good use of his Grace's liberality, that he would gladly concur with his majesty and Parliament. The King, who imagined he had reason to doubt of this, and yet was desirous to favor *Reginald*, if he himself would permit him, ordered *Starkey* to write to him for his opinion on these two points, ' simply, with the effectual reasons that determined ' him ; without wandering into political reasons of ' successes or dangerous effects that might ensue.' To this purpose *Starkey* wrote 9th *April*, 1535 ; telling him, that the Secretary knew the King's disposition to serve him, and would be sorry that his virtues should, as in a stream, vanish away among strangers. That as for the rumours which had obtained abroad, when he left him, of the King's having forsaken the Scriptures, the Sacraments, and the rites and ceremonies of the Church, he found they were all false and malicious reports. *Pole* answered from *Venice*, that he would write his mind upon the Subjects desired : and in a Letter dated 3d of *June*, ' he more at large opened his affection and ' will to serve the King in the case required, and promised that in doing it, he would weigh Scripture, ' laying apart all authority of men.' In this disposition

sition we must suppose he began to satisfy the King. But some executions, which reasons of state persuaded to be necessary, at that time happening among *Pole's* particular Friends, *Webster* professed of *Shene*, and *Reynolds* of *Sion*, as well as *Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and *Sir Thomas More*, men famous for their learning and piety; *Starkey* apprehensive that these would be maliciously aggravated in *Italy*, and so prejudice *Pole's* mind against the King, wrote to him; suggesting to his consideration, that with regard to Temporals, the Supremacy could not belong to spiritual men, *Chriſt* declaring that *his kingdom was not of this world*: and that even a spiritual Supremacy in the Bishop of *Rome*, with respect to other Churches, was introduced only by human wisdom, *in remedium ſchiſmatis*, to heal schism, and grew by degrees by the patience of Princes, *et tacito quodam Chriſtiani populi conſenſu*, and a kind of tacit consent of the people; that human wisdom might again take it away, when they found, that instead of preserving Christian Unity, it had been the greatest means of destroying it: and that therefore it was better to cut up such a root of sedition in a Christian Polity, than to let it remain to the continual destruction of our posterity. As to the other point, the King's first marriage, it was contrary to the Law of God, rooted in the Law of Nature, and by General Councils often declared: and that the Pope's power extendeth not to break such laws rooted in nature, and to dispense with laws made in General Councils, Catholick laws, and universal grounds made for the conservation of Christian life, in all Chriſt's Church. And although, by an abuse of power he had done so, yet it would be necessary to shew, that ever such power

power was given and translated to the Pope, by any law written in General Councils. As to the *Chartreux* Monks, with his friends *Webster* and *Reynolds* being put to death, to prevent or remedy the prejudices rising from false reports, he informs him, that in the last Parliament an Act was made, that all the King's subjects should, under pain of treason, revoke the Pope's supremacy: to which Act, as the rest of our nation with one consent did agree, so did these Monks, three Priors and *Reynolds* of *Sion*. The which now of late, contrary to their oath, and also to the Act, returned to their old obedience; affirming the same to be of necessity to Salvation. That he (*Starkey*) had attended *Reynolds*, in whom he found neither strong reason nor good learning to maintain his purpose. That nothing could avale but that he would in that opinion, as a disobedient person to the King's laws, suffer death, with the other of the same minds. Wherefore they themselves were the cause, for they sought their own death, of which no man can be justly accused but they themselves. "

The event proved as *Starkey* feared it would: the execution of his friends (*May* 4.) the Priors and Monks, who were the Pope's chief supporters, exasperated his Holiness; who, in affront to the King, sent a Cardinal's Hat to *Fisher*, then in prison for treason; and the King, in resentment of that indiscrete affront, cut off the head for which it was designed, in *June*; and in *July* Sir *Thomas More* for

" *Strype's Mem.* vol. 1. p. 238.

for too obstinately denying the King's Supremacy suffered the same fate. This inflamed the Pope and his Friends ; and *Pole*, too susceptible of the impression given by those he conversed with, changed his mind. The resentment at *Rome*, and their attempts to stir up the Princes of *Europe* to chastise *Henry*, opened again to *Reginald's* views the hopes of reinstating *Mary* in her rights. Whatever promise he had given of writing agreeably to the King's mind, he now altered his whole plan, and enlarged his intended Letter into a Treatise on *Ecclesiastical Unity* ; which he began in *Sept.* 1535, and did not finish till after the deaths of ^{the} two Queens, *Catherine of Aragon* and *Ann Bolen*. He began with what was his main point, the proofs for the Pope's Supremacy, which Book is ranged in the second place : then he attacked the King's Supremacy, which now stands as the first book : in his third, he launches out into extravagant abuses on the late executions, and the injuries which *Henry* had done to *Catherine* and her Daughter ; and the death of *Ann Bolen* happening at that time, gave him an opportunity of inveighing bitterly against her : in this part he is very animated, but scurrilous to a degree most unworthy an accomplished Church-man, and a Nobleman of Great Britain ; I shall pick a few of his flowers out of this single book. He calls the King profane and impious—barbarous and Turklike—more barbarous and cruel than ever man was—worse than *Nero* and *Domitian*—more merciless than pyrates—a greater enemy than the Turk—not the least spark of any virtue left—one of those giants that waged war against Heaven—nay worse than the giants, they were human in their form and

and nature, he is rather like the triple-headed *Cerberus*—at least but one head short of him—divested of humanity, a wild beast—Head of the Devil's Church—instructed by the Devil—the Devil himself—more impudent than the Devil*. Then in his fourth book protests all proceeded from love and affection to the King; assures him that he could and would deliver him out of all his troubles, if he would follow his advice, repent of his Apostacy and submit to the Pope. The scope at which he aimed, and the means to affect it, he openly avows in this Book: 'What is it, Prince, that I am now attempting? what else but to secure the succession of your lawful daughter? that very succession, to perpetuate which, your Father did so many injuries to my family.' This was the scope: the means were,

* *Prophane et impie Dux—Turcicum planè et barbarum—hoc tantum supplicium Cujus, quantumvis barbari et crudelis hominis, animo non abunde satisfecisset? tuo quidem non satisfecit, multò tu crudelior quam ullus Pirata—novus hostis urget multò quam Turca infestior—ne scintillam quidem justitiæ, aut ullius virtutis reliquam in te esse—antiquam illam fabulam de gigantibus verissimè nunc narrari posse—qui (gigantes) humanâ et figurâ et naturâ fuisse memorantur, ut verisimile de iis non videatur tam rabidam crudelitatem animis potuisse concipere—Cerberò potius tricipiti apud Inferos hæc tanta immanitas conveniret—Regem bicipitem esse, uno tantum capite à Cerbero, qui triceps fingatur, vinci—fera, amisso humanitatis sensu—quid superest, si te caput ecclesiæ constituerunt, nisi ut malignantium Ecclesiæ constituerint, quæ eadem Sathanæ Ecclesia appellatur—sic tu Sathanæ artibus instructus—cum nemine nisi cum Sathanâ conferri possis—audacior quam ipse Sathanas omnibus videare—*Pol. de Unitate Eccles. Lib. iii.**

were, to employ *him* as ‘ the most useful and apt
 ‘ instrument to restore him,’ and to enable him to
 do it, he desires the King ‘ to follow the example
 ‘ of the Emperour *Theodosius*, who promised willing-
 ‘ ly to submit to any pains or penalties that his Bishop
 ‘ *Ambrose* should enjoin.’ What sufficient recom-
 pence could the King make to so affectionate and use-
 ful a Friend? what would he not give to be de-
 livered from the impending ruin, which *Pole* so tra-
 gically describes, and which he himself, he says, if
 others were wanting, would take care to bring over
 his head? what satisfaction might the Pope and Em-
 perour demand as the condition of their reconcilia-
 tion? the horrors of guilt which he so inflamingly
 aggravates, the dangers and threatnings which he so
 loudly fulminates, are all intended to drive him to
 accept of his intercession, and to comply with the
 terms he should procure for him*.

This

* Nam quid Ego nunc ago, Princeps, quid aliud,
 nisi legitimæ tuæ filiae successionem defendo? illam ip-
 sam successionem Ego defendo, quam ut perpetueret,
 pater tuus tot damna dedit, tot et tam gravia vulnera
 familiae nostræ intulit. Lib. iii.—me vero si casus ali-
 quis sustulisset, utilissimum et aptissimum tibi ad hæc
 omnia recuperanda instrumentum desiderares. Lib. iv.—
Theodosius Romani Imperii tum florentissimi mode-
 rator...unius hominis (*Ambrosii*) castigationi necesse
 habuerit cedere...statim ad episcopum cum mandatis mi-
 sit, qui suis verbis dicerent se in ejus potestatem futu-
 rum: pœnam sceleri statueret quæ ipse videretur: ni-
 hil tam grave statui posse, quod non ipse libenter su-
 biret; id quod sanè reipsâ postea præstitit...O magnum
 pœnitentiæ exemplum, et a Te, Princeps, maxime
 imitandum. Lib. iv.—qui autem meus fuerit in scri-
 bendo animus...vel ex eo uno Libro [nimirum quarto]
 facile perspicere possit. *Poli Ep. ad Edv.* VI. §. 30.

An hæc Cæsar non videt? an si non videret, deessent
 qui dicerent? an Ego ipse, si cæteri cunctarentur, id
 facere

This insolence and abuse were so illiberal and blame worthy, that his Friends in *England*, even those who adhered to Popish superstitions, such as *Tonstal* and *Starky*, were astonished at it. ‘ In the reading where-
 ‘ of, says *Starky*, although we all loved you entirely,
 ‘ yet your corrupt judgment in the matter, and your
 ‘ detestable unkindness to your Prince, so offended
 ‘ us all, that many times our ears abhorred the
 ‘ hearing—comparing the head with the end, and
 ‘ considering the whole circumstance of the matter,
 ‘ there appeared to me the most frantick judgment
 ‘ that ever I read of any learned man in my life;
 ‘ for herein lies the sum of your book, because we
 ‘ are slipped from the obedience of *Rome*, you judge
 ‘ us to be separated from the Unity of the Church,
 ‘ and to be no more members of the Catholick Body,
 ‘ but to be worse than *Turks* and *Saracens*. Where-
 ‘ fore you rail upon our Prince, to bring him to re-
 ‘ pentance, more vehemently than ever did *Gregory*
 ‘ against the Apostate *Julian*, or any other against
 ‘ such tyrants as persecuted *Christ*’s doctrine. Upon
 ‘ this point you have pretended, all that sharpness of
 ‘ your Oration to spring of love. Yet be you assur-
 ‘ ed, none are so blinded, but to judge it a foolish
 ‘ love, which bringeth forth against a Prince, such
 ‘ a bitter, sharp, and slanderous Oration—But I
 ‘ find the Proverb of the Greek to be true, *every*
 ‘ *man draws much of the manners and judgments of those*
 ‘ *with whom he is gladly conversant*. The *Italian* judg-
 ‘ ments

facere dubitarem?—Et si omnia mihi pericula propone-
 rentur, nunquam quiescerem, donec ad eum perveni-
 rem, ac in hæc verba apud eum prorumperem. Lib.
 iv.

‘ments are much bent to defend the honor of their
 ‘country, which by the Primacy of *Rome* hath been
 ‘much upholden.’^x

Even his *Italian* friends, *Contareni* and *Priuli*, whose friendship and conversation he preferred to his King, his Country, and his Relations; whose assistance he begged in this work, and to whom he communicated the parts as he wrote them, both agreed in blaming him for writing too sharply and bitterly against his Prince. Nay he himself was so convinced of the impropriety of it, that he hesitated much whether he should send the Treatise after he had taken eight or nine months trouble to compose it: nor did he venture to do it at last, till he enthusiastically interpreted, as signs of the Divine Will, some incidents, which should rather have dissuaded him^y; one was, missing the sheets which contained the most offensive part: which might have suggested the *impropriety* of sending them; but the truth was, he had mislaid them. The other was, the deaths of both Queens and the King’s marriage with *Jane Seymour*: which might convince him that all his rude declamation relating to the Divorce was *needless*. What determined him to write he acknowledges was not reason but indignation; making the deaths of his friends the strongest argument that convinced him.*

After

^x Strype’s Mem. vol. 1. Records. ^y *Quirini* vol. 1.
 p. 338. ex Ep. ad Edv. VI. Regem.

* Idq; statim elegi, non tam quidem persuasus illis rationibus, quæ multæ et graves erant, quas vel ex scriptis aliorum, vel ex meâ meditatione, cum multum de hac causâ cogitarem, ante didiceram, quam ex uno illo

After all, he says, he was *unwilling* to write, but that the King's commands obliged him; and that nothing but his commands could have forced him to break his silence.† Yet he tells *Contareni*, that he *willingly* bore the task of writing imposed upon him, by those, whom he knows not whether he should have obeyed had they enjoined him silence.‡ Mr. *Phillips* represents this work as begun before he received the King's orders^z; contrary to what *Pole* asserts, that those orders set him to work. Now *Starky's* Letter, conveying those orders, was dated in *April*, 1535; in the *June* following, *Pole* promises to write his opinion agreeably to the King's wish: Soon after he hears of the executions, which determines him to change his plan; and purposely waiting till the summer heats were over, on the 24th *Sep.* or viii. Kal. *Octob.* he says he had begun it twenty days. This mistake in Mr. *Phillips*, in representing *Pole* as having begun his work before the King's orders to

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^z P. 112, 113.

illo argumento, quod in sanguine talium virorum, quasi digito Dei scriptum contemplantur. Apolog. ad Carol. §. iii.

† Quid ergo illud est quod me INVITUM ad scribendum compellit? prima verò [causa] quæ me impulit, ut scriberem, fuit illius imperium, contra quem scribendum est.—Neque verò ab hoc silentio, cujusquam me auctoritas aut hortatio abducere potuit,...antequam Regis imperium ad scribendum me vocaret. Apolog. ad Carol. §. ii.

‡ Ego verò hanc mihi necessitatem scribendi ab illis imponi libenter fero, qui etiamsi tacere juberent, ut nunc quidem res sunt, nescio an obtemperarem. Pol. Epist. Quirini, vol. ii. Ep. 22.

write, was probably owing to his inattentively following *Quirini*, to a slip of whose pen, saying, the *first* months of the year 1535, instead of the *last*, I impute the mistake; for *Quirini* quotes the letter, viii Kal. Oct. which contradicts him if he meant to say *prioribus mensibus*. But Mr. *Phillips*, with all his pretence to accuracy, even in trifles, is too negligent of his dates in material points.

But whenever begun or finished, ‘ those whom
 ‘ passion or prejudice has not prevented from exami-
 ‘ ning the weight of the arguments, and the grace-
 ‘ fulness with which they are employed, have en-
 ‘ tertained the same opinion of the Performance,
 ‘ which the Author, notwithstanding his modesty
 ‘ when he speaks of himself, has expressed in the fol-
 ‘ lowing words; It has been my endeavour, says he,
 ‘ to ascertain the primacy and indefectibility of the
 ‘ See of *Rome*, not only against all those who have
 ‘ hitherto denied it, but against all future opposers,
 ‘ who may be various and in great numbers.’^a
 Now, whatever *Pole* meant, he certainly in that
 passage says not a word of primacy or indefectibility,
 but only of *Peter’s* ship; and Mr. *Phillips* might have
 informed us, that he conceived this high idea of his
 Performance, when he had spent only twenty days on
 a work, that employed him eight or nine months.
 This Biographer also informs us, that ‘ *Gardiner*,
 ‘ *Tonstal*, and *Sampson* attacked the dogmatical part
 ‘ of the work.’^b Yet *Pole* himself relates, ‘ that
 ‘ when he received the King’s orders to write, they
 ‘ were enforced by the treatises of *Sampson* and *Gardi-*
 ‘ *ner*.

^a P. 133, 134.

^b P. 131, Note.

ner.'^c So that they attacked the dogmatical part of his work *before* he wrote it. Which indeed they might as well do, as *Pole* answer all *future* opposers in the work itself.

But even an adversary, *Vergerius* (once the Pope's Legate, but who afterwards embraced *Lutheranism*,) allows, that ' he has brought together with great eloquence, whatever had been acutely, craftily, or subtly written in defence of the Papacy.'^d I, for my part, agree with *Vergerius*; a great sharpness of spirit, a crafty representation of facts, and subtle sophisms borrowed from others, are very rhetorically dressed out by him: but why did Mr. *Phillips* make a full stop here, and grudge us the close of the period? all this oratory of *Pole's*, *Vergerius* tells us, was directed by fraud and malice, not to clear the truth, but to disguise falsehood.* Bishop *Burnet* therefore appears not to have been too bold an assertor, when he said this work ' was more esteemed for ' the high quality of the Author, than for sound ' reasoning.' Having carefully read the Treatise, in my opinion, the childish wit, the false facts, the inconclusive and inconsistent arguments in the two first Books, which are to disprove the King's and maintain the Pope's Supremacy, are such, that as the Protestants were not afraid to publish it at first from concealed copies among his friends, so neither will they now, when the work is become scarce, be afraid to see it republished. In his interpreting

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scripture,

^c P. 112. ^d P. 134, Note. ^e Hist. Ref. p. 134, Notes.

* Non ad veritatis lucem, sed ad tegumentum mendaciorum, per summam fraudem atq; malitiam.

scripture, through the work, he is an instance of that kind of Commentators, censured by the Author of *The study of sacred literature fully stated and considered*; 'who spin out the plainness and sincerity of the Text into small threads and subtleties, which are, indeed, of wonderful fineness for the work, but of little substance and profit...who turn reality into a shadow, and truth into a dream.'

As to *Fisher* and *More*, I believe there is no Protestant who does not grieve, as Lord *Herbert* tells us the King himself did, both inwardly and publicly, at the executions necessary in that struggle for liberty with the Pope, that any reasons of state should make it expedient to bring those men to the scaffold; and render ineffectual the compassionate recommendation of them to mercy, by *Cranmer*, upon their own terms. But *Fisher* had shewn an obstinate prejudice and malice against the King's proceedings, in the credit and encouragement he gave to that infamous imposture of the Maid of *Kent*; and *More*, as well as he, had before tasted his Majesty's clemency in the forgiveness of their concealment of it: yet they again provoked him by refusing to acknowledge him Supreme in his own dominions, though the denial was made High Treason. The impostures, seditions, and machinations of the Pope and his adherents, at that time, rendered a second mercy too dangerous. *Fisher's* prejudices arose from the case of the marriage of Queen *Catherine*, which he first persuaded; and although he acknowledged the majority of Writers were against him, yet he would never submit to their opinions. This made him a passionate opposer, not only of the King's proceedings, but of all reformation, though reasonable

ble and salutary, as Mr. *Phillips* acknowledges; under pretence of being ill-timed innovations, and proceeding from want of faith, and tending to produce such evils as the *Bohemians* had experienced: which Mr. *Phillips* represents, as if ‘like another *Micajah*, ‘he had foretold the evils which were to involve ‘himself and others; which, when the offence ‘it gave made it moved to send him to the Tower, ‘he defended with his usual intrepidity, and nothing more was said on the subject.’ What could induce our Biographer to falsify in a piece of History so well known? The fact was, the House of Commons resented the reflection he had made on them; and by their Speaker, attended by thirty of their members, demanded of the King reparation from the Bishop of *Rocheſter*. His intrepidity was forced to retract, and explaine the charge of want of Faith, as meant of the *Bohemians*, and not of them. *More*’s prejudices grew from his partial knowledge of Divinity; he was an excellent Claſſick, had ſtudied the Civil and Canon Law, and the Pope’s Decrees he was well acquainted with: but not carrying his enquiries beyond the times of the corruptions of the Church, he took his idea of her diſcipline and doctrine from the diſguiſe which ambition and ſuperſtition had thrown over her. This attention to *Forms* and *Rituals*, without regarding the humility and benevolence of the Goſpel, made him ſo cruel a perſecutor, that he gloried in his ſeverity againſt Hereticks.* His opinion was, I believe, according to

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the

P. 70.

* *Furibus, homicidis, et hæreticis moleſtus.*

the light he had : how far his ignorance was blameable, *in foro conscientiae*, I do not determine ; but his opinion against an Act of Parliament, so obstinately persisted in, could not at that time go unpunished. I with Mr. *Phillips* had permitted me to have passed over the infirmities of these two great Men.

The purpose of this Treatise is represented by *Pole* as a pure act of friendship to the King, warning him of his *spiritual* danger in a separation from the Church, by leaving the Pope's Supremacy, and assuming it to himself in his own dominions : and of his *political* danger, from the Emperour, by affronting his Aunt ; and from his people, by illegitimizing the Princess whom they loved and wished for : and directing him to his safety, by being reconciled to the Church of *Rome*. So it is set forth in the Treatise itself, in *Pole's* English Letter that accompanied it to the King, and in his Answer to *Tonsil* ; in which last he declares his disinterested zeal for the King's welfare to be such, that ‘ though the King
‘ should be forsaken by all, who, either through
‘ hope or fear combine to betray him, there will yet
‘ be one superior to the influence of such motives.
‘ As to the beneficial circumstances of life, with
‘ which my silence and passive behaviour was to be
‘ purchased, my contempt of them, in comparison
‘ of my zeal for his Majesty, shall be the return I
‘ make him for my education.’ Now, if this zeal was real, and he indeed thought the dangers to be as great as he painted them, we can only pity him as a weak mistaken man, whose fault lay in his judgment, and not in his will : but if we discover that
he

he had some selfish views, which, if unsatisfied, would make him uneasy at the King's escaping those dangers ; and if, when he found them languid and just vanishing into nothing, he used all his arts and industry to excite and encourage them, his pretended concern for the King's spiritual and temporal welfare must appear as ridiculous as hypocritical, and place Mr. *Phillips's* Hero in a very contemptible light.

If his wish and endeavour were solely for the King's sake, without any private views or interests of his own, to reconcile the King to the church, from which, as he supposed, he had separated himself, and out of which was no safety ; then *Henry's* reconciliation with the Pope and the Church must have made him easy.—No such matter, if attempted without him. For when, at this time, a reconciliation was actually on foot, the *French* King mediating, and *Paul III.* signifying to the King by *Cassalis*, that he himself stood well affected toward it, having always done his Majesty good offices, and had urged *Clement VII.* to right him in his divorce ; and at *Bononia* (being then Cardinal) persuaded the Emperour to suffer it with patience.ⁿ *Reginald* was startled at this news, and writes to his friend *Priuli*,
 ‘ If any such thing is in agitation, take care, I de-
 ‘ sire you, that I may know it ; for by what mean so-
 ‘ ever it may be attempted, perhaps it may be of
 ‘ some consequence, that I should be made acquaint-
 ‘ ed with the particulars, before it be completed—
 ‘ not *so much* for my private interest, as the honor
 F 4 of

ⁿ *Herb. Hist.* p. 387.

of the Pontiff, and the benefit of the Church.* Does this look as if he had *no* private interest in these affairs, and that his whole solicitude was for the King's welfare?

Perhaps his gratitude to the Memory of Queen *Catherine* was such, that he even wished the King in danger of damnation in order to procure some reparation. No; he represents her, and her honor, as of very little weight in this affair; and hearing that her death had prevented the King's excommunication, he is very angry that so inconsiderable a life should obstruct that measure.† Such was his gratitude to *Catherine*, such his zeal for the spiritual welfare of the King! yet, when sent into *Flanders* as Legate, and from thence, if expedient, into *England*, where the Pope offered to prepare for his reception

* Rumor hic est, Cassalium, fratrem Protonotarii, qui hic Regis Angliæ Legatus fuit mandata à Rege ad Pontificem habere (ut existimatur) de reconciliatione: hoc enim audio Gallum urgere. Si aliquid ejusmodi sit, fac, rogo, ut sciam; quocunque enim modo id nunc tentetur, fortasse non esset inutile me exinde fieri certior, antequam res componatur. Pol. Epist. ad Priolum. Numb. xxvi. p. 437.

And again, Hic verò rumor ille magis increbescit de reconciliatione Regis cum Pontifice, vel potius cum Pontificatu.---Hoc verò---cupio curari, ut si fieri posset, antequam res componeretur, mihi occasio, tempus, vel spatium daretur meam sententiam explicandi in iis rebus, quæ non tam ad *meam aliquam ut litatem* spectant, quam ad honorem Pontificis, et utilitatem fortasse majorem Ecclesiæ pertinent. Pol. Ep. Priolo. Numb. xxvii.

† Ego verò ex quibusdam literis Neapoli scriptis, hodiè intellexi, si Regina, Cæsaris amita, non obiisset, jampridem in Regem anathema exiisset. Quid ergo? ex unius mulieris animulâ res ecclesiæ pendere debent?

ception by excommunicating the King, and discharging his Subjects of their allegiance, fearing lest this might prevent his passage into *England*, or endanger him when there, he begged the Pope to suspend the sentence awhile: and then boasts to *Cromwell* of this suspension of the censure as obtained by him in respect to the King. Though at the same time his doubling spirit was conscious how earnestly he had wished and solicited for the censure before: but he had the art of glossing, and the meanness to use it.

Of the same fabrick was his zeal for his *political* welfare. The Emperour's resentment in his Aunt's cause was one of the dangers from which *Pole* pretends he was anxious to deliver his King: yet when he heard, on the death of *Catharine*, that the Emperour and the King were about renewing their old league of amity, instead of rejoicing at the prospect of his Master's escaping that danger, he says, it is scarcely to be believed how deeply cut to the heart he was at that report, as his projected scheme of accommodation would be disappointed, and his own situation be worse than ever.* The Emperour was one of his rods, with which he hoped to have scourged the King into his measures; and, to have this rod snatched out of his hand, gave him this incredible

* Et tamen quæ nuper ad me erant perlata de benigno quodam Cæsaris responso oratori Angliæ, cum nomine Regis peteret, renovandam antiquam amicitiam, quod minimè convenire his temporibus videbatur, et potius ad augenda quam diminuenda nostra mala spectare, ita animum meum perculerunt, ut---vix credas quam intimis sensibus sum commotus, cum illa audirem, quæ ad tollenda remedia spectare videbantur. Epist. Poli ad Priolum, Numb. xxix.

credible uneasiness. So that it was not the King's danger from the Emperour, but his being freed from that danger which gave him concern. As for the civil dissensions at home, which he likewise deplored, and from which he pretended to be desirous of rescuing the King; these, we shall see presently, he undertook a commission to encourage and support; and when abated by a defeat, he solicited for an extraordinary supply of money from the Pope to rekindle again. Thus he has himself convinced us that all his pretences were false.

But it may be asked, what was his real motive? for a view to the crown by a marriage with the Princess appears now less credible, as the act for her illegitimacy was past, the King married again to his third wife, and she was with child; if the Issue was a Son, the Princess's succession must be unquestionably over. Notwithstanding this, his hopes were not over, as he manifested by a solicitude and curiosity, more than became a man who thought himself unconcerned, anxiously enquiring about the probable result of *Jane Seymour's* pregnancy. For in the beginning of the next year his servant *Michael Throgmorton* was very inquisitive, whether the Queen (being now great) were thought by the Physicians to bear a Man-child or a Female; which made the intentions of the Cardinal more suspected. This fact *Lord Herbert* relates from our Records.¹ This sufficiently shews how mistaken or prejudiced *Manutius* was, in what he says of *Reginald*, 'that his mind was pure from all AMBITION and MALEVOLENCE, and that his countenance and discourse were a perpetual

‘ perpetual index of the candor and uprightness of his mind.’^k

And the pattern which he copied in this Treatise discovers the Spirit with which he wrote it. The pattern he proposed to himself to imitate, was that of the Arch-Rebel *Thomas Becket*: of this fact Cardinal *Quirini* informs us; but it is an information, which Mr. *Phillips*, who occasionally borrows very liberally from him, has suppressed. By this it appears that *Pole* himself was a Copyist, as well as his Biographer. In that most weighty cause, says he, —*Pole* must be supposed to have in view the example of St. *Thomas*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and that his best sentiments were taken out of his Epistles to the Pope, Cardinals, Bishops, and *Henry II.* He says, that there are a great number of passages, which *Reginald* seems to have transcribed from those Epistles.* The men indeed were not alike; *Becket* was bold and imperious, *Pole* mild and gentle; but engaged in a like cause, into which Pride had impelled one, and ambition the other, both seemed animated with the same spirit: though it is probable, if *Pole* rises higher than his own timidity would have naturally

* *Phill.* p. 138.

* Porro in eâ gravissimâ causâ, quâ de Regis Henrici salute, et Britanniae religione agebatur, ob oculos in primis habuisse censendus est Polus, Sancti Thomæ, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, exemplum, et ex hujus literis seu ad Alexandrum III. seu ad Cardinales, et Episcopos, seu ad Henricum II. Angliæ Regem, --- præstantissimos sensus transisse --- sexcenta sunt loca in iis S. Thomæ Epistolis, quos Polus exscripsisse visus est. *Quirini*, vol. i. p. 314.

rally suffered, he was buoyed up with the bladders that he borrowed from *Becket*.

§. 9. Pole cal-
led to Rome to
assist in forming
a plan of Refor-
mation.

The consequences from this Treachery in *England* and *Italy*, were such as might be foreseen, resentment from *Henry* and approbation from the Pope, who had been informed by Cardinal *Contareni* of the whole. *Pole's* zeal for *Rome* had ruined him with his master, and thrown him entirely into the Pope's arms; and the same zeal, with his High-birth, connections and correspondence with *England* made him a fit instrument to be employed to give information, and assist in the execution of such measures as should be thought expedient for the reduction of that Kingdom. And the Pope having promised to call a General Council for reformation of the Church, summoned several learned men to *Rome* to draw up the points which needed to be reformed: Among these he summoned *Pole* to represent *England*, of whose good mind he was sufficiently secure. A copy of this Summons he sent to the King, by Messengers that were then going with other dispatches. He waited some weeks for an answer to these, which overtook him at *Verona*. *Cromwell's* Letters commanded him with threats not to proceed: but ' the other letters, he says, were ' eloquent indeed, being from the Countess of *Salisbury*, his Mother, and his Brother the Lord *Montague*, in which they entreated him by all the ' ties of duty and affection to desist from a step ' which was so displeasing to the King; and if he persisted in it, they would renounce all friendship and ' connexion

connexion with him.¹ These remonstrances staggered him, he gave up all thoughts of going to *Rome*, not doubting but the Pope would admit of his excuse. But his Companions, *Caraffa*, and the Bishop of *Verona*, pleaded the importance of the commission, on which the Pope was about to employ him; the great utility he might procure his Country in the execution of it; and the example which was particularly expected from him of deference to that authority, which his writings had so well enforced.^m These arguments determined him to pursue his journey.* This is a fresh instance of that *steadiness*, by which Mr. *Phillips* characterizes his Hero, contrary to facts: the want of a solidity of judgment to determine him appears through all his life; and was so notorious to the *Italians*, who knew him best, and who, observing his easiness to be seduced, and imposed upon by those with whom he conversed, branded him with a weakness, which they called *Dapocaggine*, that fluctuating irresolution, which subjects a man to the craft and impositions of those, who are willing to make a tool of him.ⁿ He forgets not to make a merit of this obedience to the Pope by a Letter to *Contareni*; desiring his Holiness would take care of his safety, and protect him from the dangers he apprehended, for having provoked his King

¹ P. 137. ^m P. 138. ⁿ Parker in vitâ Reg. Poli.

* Prorsus iis lectis, planè ut res est (nec me fortiore, quam sum, facio) prope succubuerim--Cum illi optimi Episcopi, in quorum me comitatu scis esse---ambo unâ voce, quasi divinitus ad me missi, tergiversantem retinuerunt, et vacillantem animum optimis verbis confirmarunt. Pol. Epist. Cardin. Contareno, *Quirini*, vol. 1. numb. xlv.

King by obeying the Pope: and in the close of the Letter again beseeches him to confer with the Pope about keeping him safe from their snares. And then, least this solicitude should too much diminish his character, he adds, ‘ for his own part, their attempting his life, could not happen sooner than he desired, if the publick good might be advanced by such a sacrifice.’^o I have observed through his writings, whenever he brags of his courage, it is the vaunt of a coward; and his talking loud betrays the fear which he endeavours to conceal by it. His repeted fears Mr. *Phillips* takes no notice of; but his magnanimity in despising dangers for the publick good, he singles out. He concludes his letter to *Contareni*, with declaring, that he delivers himself up entirely into the hands of the Pope, *Cui totum me trado*. Ep. xlv.

In *October* he arrived at *Rome*, and was lodged in the Pope’s Palace. The Nine Collegues selected for that purpose conferred together on the Reformation of the Church. *Pole* ‘ was the youngest of all the Associates, and though they were men of the first character for learning and probity, yet he was the directing mind that guided the whole; and alone drew up the Plan of Reformation, the substance of which had been the joint labors of them all: and when it was printed some years after, it appeared in his name, without any mention of his Collegues.’^p

The more of *Pole*’s hand and directing mind was in it the more regard this his great Admirer, I hope, will give it. In it we shall find those principles admitted, which will not only justify *Henry* in his proceedings in the Divorce and Supremacy, but also the reformation

reformation of many other abuses which followed in time. They admit, ‘ those abuses wherewith the
 ‘ Church of God, and especially the Court of *Rome*,
 ‘ has been long affected, and which had brought the
 ‘ Church to the very brink of ruin, grew from the
 ‘ Popes heaping up flatterers, who should employ
 ‘ their wit to find out ways how it might be lawful
 ‘ for them to do what they pleased ;---inso much that
 ‘ the Pope’s will and pleasure, whatever it be, must
 ‘ needs be the rule for all that he does---from this
 ‘ source as from the Trojan Horse, those so many a-
 ‘ buses and such mortal diseases have broken forth
 ‘ into the Church of God, which have reduced her
 ‘ almost to a state of desparation.---You, Holy Fa-
 ‘ ther, saw, that where the disease grew at first,
 ‘ there the remedy must begin. And following the
 ‘ Example of *St. Paul*, you intended to be a Dis-
 ‘ penser, and not a Lord’---they then censure the
 Pope’s dispensing with antient Laws---and making
 a gain of the power of the keys : ‘ that Grace of
 ‘ God which they had *freely received*, they ought
 ‘ *freely to give*.’ Then they enumerate too many
 abuses to be here repeted. But the source of all the
 abuses in the Church was, according to them, the
 Pope’s tyranny in inflaving Kings and Nations,
 making himself a LORD over them, and not a Dispen-
 ser or Steward ; and the disorders in discipline grew
 from his being an unrighteous steward, and making
 merchandise of the Grace of God. If this charge
 is true, were we to blame, if we endeavoured to de-
 liver the Church, as far as we were able, from this
 gaping ruin ? what method to reform the abuses,
 but by removing the source ? was *Henry* to blame to
 get rid, not of a lawful superior, but an imperious
 Lord

Lord and Tyrant, who domineered without authority? and to restore strength to the antient Laws and Canons of the Church, which were so capriciously dispensed with, or executed, as base lucre or the Pope's private interests persuaded? or was the reformation of other abuses wrong, which indeed followed of course when the cause was removed; I mean those which grew from the shameful sale of spiritual graces, under various pretexts and impositions of private masses, purgatory, adoration of images, intercessions of saints, pilgrimages, indulgences, and many other such like gainful superstitions?

Will it be said, we ought to have staid till the Pope should reform these abuses himself? What reformation did he set about in these material and essential points which confessedly called for it? Let Mr. *Phillips* speak: 'Though the Commissioners discharged their trust with a zeal answerable to their parts and probity, yet many various difficulties occurred, when that was to be reduced to practice, which till then, had been the object of Theory only. The temper of the times seemed ill suited to the change which was projected, and though the distempered manners of the Christian World called aloud for a remedy, yet there was no favorable crisis in which it could be applied with a prospect of success.' Till the time shall better suit, and there shall be a favorable Crisis for applying this remedy, for which the distempered manners of the Christian World call aloud, Mr. *Phillips* might allow, that a *Practical* Reformation in *England* was preferable to only a *Theoretical* one at *Rome*. Cardinal

dinal *Schomberg* (supposed to be sent to the Conclave on purpose from the Pope) prevented the publication of this Advice at that time, persuading a delay till it could be referred to a General Council. *Sleiden* mentions a reason urged by *Schomberg*, which Mr. *Phillips* has not given us, that if his advice was not followed, the *Lutherans* would brag, that 'They had as it were forced them to put things into better order.' This is a good Catholick reason, often to be met with, and of which the Commissioners themselves were sensible; for speaking against dispensations for the Clergy's marriage, this they say 'is especially to be observed at a time, when this liberty is violently contended for by the *Lutherans*,'^s So that the judgment of St. *Paul*, that *it is better to marry than to burn*, if the *Lutherans* join him, shall for that reason be opposed by the Pope and his Counsellors. There is a remarkable instance of this delicacy not to censure the Church of *Rome*, though it should be in an error, in the advice which *Pole* gave to *Cochlæus*, who seemed to disapprove the modern custom of not giving the Eucharist to Children: the Cardinal says, 'supposing the fact was decided on which side he pleased,' that is, whether this custom was right or wrong, 'yet great caution was to be used, lest---he might, contrary to his inclination, greatly injure the Church of *Rome*, which was not favorable to the side he maintained. For if the practice was of that necessity, which his writings insinuated, its omission (by the Church of *Rome*) could not be excused from great ignorance or neglect.' And then commends his reverence for the Mother Church, for not publishing its ignorance or neglect in this point

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^r Hist. Ref. Lib. xii.^s Ibid.

point (supposing his opinion true) but dutifully acquiescing in its errors.

‘ But, says the Biographer, this Plan of Reformation was printed at *Rome*, by *Bladi*, (Printer for the Apostolick Chamber) in 1538, and inserted by *Peter Crabbe* into the Collection of Councils ; though omitted, as *Possevin* complains, in the latter one of *Surius*. Perhaps, as it wanted the sanction of publick authority, he might not think it proper to give it a place in that work.’^t For the information in this note, and sagacity in the close of it, Mr. *Phillips* is again indebted to *Quirini*, without any acknowledgment. The printed Copies were so rare that few knew any thing of them ; they were dispersed in proper places, as the Pope thought convenient, to persuade the *Lutherans*, that he really meant a reformation : *Sturmius* and *Luther* republished it, and made their advantage of it. Grieved to find their Confession become so publick, they endeavoured to hide it as much as they could ; and *Caraffa*, one of the Commissioners, when he became Pope put it into the Catalogue of prohibited Books. This will, without a perhaps, account for the omission of it in *Surius* and *Binius*’s editions of the Councils. Its wanting the sanction of publick authority had equally excluded it from *Peter Crabbe*’s Collection : but, as *Schelhorne* observes, it was as usual, as necessary, to insert all publick papers relating to the Councils, whether previous, or subsequent to them : and evidences in those of *Ephesus*, *Chalcedon*, *Basil*, and *Trent* ; with respect to this latter, *Binius* has inserted many relative pieces ; but has omitted, what
certainly

^t P. 140. Note, vol. 1. [p. 367.]

certainly belonged to it, the Confession of *Adrian VI.* to the Diet at *Norimberg*, and that of the nine Commissioners.^u Both these were forbidden by the *Index Prohibitorius* of *Paul IV.* I mean not to conceal that *Quirini* denies this; but *Schelhorne* proves it very clearly.

But Lord *Herbert* observes, ‘ that the Plan here laid down gave occasion to rectify several abuses in the Church.’^w The more the better: the fewer abuses are left in that Church, the easier will be what I ardently wish, but can never expect to see, a reconciliation of the two Churches, and an Union with all the particular Churches in Christendom. Let them give up but two points, confessed by themselves to be abuses, I mean the usurped Domination of the Pope, as universal Bishop, and all those tricks of Discipline invented for the merchandise of spiritual Graces, and we shall the sooner come to an accord. Their worldly Interest and Pomp will then cease to influence them; and our jealousy will be the less alarmed. But whatever amendment might be made in Individuals, by seeing abuses pointed out to them, to which they before were inattentive; of this I shall say nothing, as I know nothing: but it is notorious that neither the Pope that asked this Advice, nor the Delegates who gave it, followed it themselves. With regard to *Paul III.* this may be seen largely proved by *Schelhorne*, *De consilio de emendendâ Ecclesiâ a Paulo III. executioni non dato*, p. 48—58. I shall mention only two in which *Pole* was concerned. They complain ‘ of giving Bishopricks to Car-

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dinals

^u De Confil. de Emend. Ecclesiâ, p. 20, 21.

^w Hist. p. 140.

' dinals as an abuse, which it is of great moment to
 ' correct. Because first, the office of a Cardinal and
 ' of a Bishop are incompatible. Beside, it is setting
 ' a bad example, for how should the Holy See correct
 ' the abuses of other men, if it suffers them to conti-
 ' nue in its chief and principal members? for, be-
 ' cause they are Cardinals, it is not therefore more
 ' lawful for them to transgress the laws, but it is a-
 ' bundantly less lawful in them. Their example should
 ' be a law to others; nor should they imitate the Pha-
 ' risees who *said* but *did not*. Christ on the contrary
 ' began to *do*, and then to *teach*.* Of these Dele-
 gates, *Contareni* was at the time of consultation
 both Bishop and Cardinal; *Caraffa* and *Sadolet* were
 both Bishops, and promoted to the Cardinalate pre-
 sently after; *Fregosi* and *Aleander*, both Archbi-
 shops, and presently after promoted to the Cardi-
 nalate; and *Pole*, who was not in Orders at the
 consultation, (and sure if a Layman may be called
 to *make* laws for the Church, a King in his own
 dominions may see to the execution of those already
 made)

* Alius etiam abusus invaluit, ut reverendissimis Car-
 dinalibus Episcopatus conferantur sive commendentur,
 non unus tantum, sed plures: quem, Pater beatissime,
 putamus magni esse momenti in Ecclesiâ Dei. Primò
 quidem, quia officium Cardinalatûs et officium Episcopi
incompatibilia sunt...prætereà, Pater Sancte, hic usus
 maximè obest exemplo: quomodo namque hæc sancta
 fides poterit dirigere et corrigere aliorum abusus, si in
 præcipuis suis membris abusus non tollerentur? Nec
 ob id, quod Cardinales sint, putamus eis magis licere
 transgredi legem, imo longe minus. Horum enim vita
 debet esse aliis lex; nec imitandi sunt Pharisei, qui di-
 cunt & non faciunt: sed Christus Salvator noster incepit
 facere, & postea docere.

Consilium de emendendâ Ecclesiâ.

made) was soon after made a Cardinal, and about twenty years after accepted of the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, and burned his Predecessor to come at it.

Again, They observe, the Command of Christ, *freely ye have received, freely give*, obliges not only his Holiness but all who share his power; therefore they require it should be observed by his Legates and Nuncios. The scandalous traffick in his office for licences, indulgences, and dispensations, when *Pole* was Legate here under Queen *Mary*, was as contrary to this advice, as it was a dishonor to Religion. This Mr. *Phillips* denies in his second Part, saying, ‘every department of his Legantine Office was served without fees; and where the Laws prescribed a Fine, it was employed for the relief of the needy.*’. But Mr. *Strickland*’s report in *Crashaw*’s mittimus to the Jubilee at *Rome*†, is a sufficient testimony of the scandalous traffick which I have mentioned.

§. 10. *Pole* made a Cardinal. The reward of this service was the calling *Caraffa*, *Sadolet*, and *Pole* to the Cardinalate in Dec. 1536, and

Frigosi and *Alexander* soon after. Mr. *Phillips*’s dissertation on Cardinals in general, I pass over, as he acknowledges it a new order that grew to be necessary ‘from the great accession of temporal power to the See of *Rome*, and the extent of her spiritual jurisdiction, which still became more wide, as the Gospel spread itself over the whole earth.‡’. But it makes one smile to hear the new Cardinal’s fustian on this occasion, ‘This is the in-

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‘heritance

* P. 228.

† P. 30.

‡ P. 147.

‘ heritance we have received from those illustrious
 ‘ *Cardinals* of the Church, the *Apostles*, whose suc-
 ‘ cessors we glory to be^a;’ but if I may be allowed to
 embellish my writing with a flower culled from Mr.
Phillips, these successors ‘ approached the Apostles
 ‘ in proportion only as they fell less short of them.’
 Nothing of the Apostles humility appeared in these
 successors, who assumed titles and dignities to which
 the poor Apostles were strangers; these grew from
 new powers in the Church unknown to them; and
 which aggrandized men, who were at best, but the
 successors of the Priests and Deacons of *Rome*. The
 unchristian pride, arrogance, and voluptuousness of
 this unevangelical order was grown to such a height
 at this time, that in the Council of *Trent* one boldly
 ventured to complain of the grievance, and recom-
 mend the reformation of the Cardinals. *Illustrissimi et*
reverendissimi Cardinales indigent illustrissimâ & reve-
rendissimâ reformatione^b.

Yet great as this dignity was, if the spring of
Pole’s conduct be indeed the same that I have assign-
 ed, he must rather wish to decline accepting of it.
 He had not yet received the first tonsure, or made his
 vow of chastity; a vow not very consistent with his
 hopes of the *English* Crown in dowry with the Prin-
 cess *Mary*: Wherefore *Reginald* was the only per-
 son who opposed his promotion. The Ambassadour
 and Creatures of *Charles V.* were particularly de-
 sirous it should take effect, pretending that this pro-
 motion would give the affairs of *England* a more fa-
 vorable turn: ‘ but *Beccatelli*, *Reginald*’s Secretary,
 ‘ has assigned a reason, says Mr. *Phillips*, more suited
 ‘ to

^a P. 150.

^b *Quirini*, vol. i. p. lxxx.

' to the genius of Courts, and therefore more pro-
 ' bable; that, by this means, an opinion would be
 ' removed, which several persons were possessed of,
 ' that the Princess *Mary*, *Henry's* daughter, might,
 ' one time or other, chuse *Reginald* for her Husband,
 ' from the singular affection both she and the late
 ' Queen her Mother had borne him from his infan-
 ' cy'. If the Emperour by his Ambassadour la-
 ' bored to prevent *Pole* by these means from marry-
 ' ing the Princess, whom he intended to dispose of
 ' elsewhere; *Pole* labored no less on the other hand to
 ' avoid this inconvenient dignity, signifying to the Pope,
 ' that nothing could be so ill timed as such a step:
 ' that it would make him forfeit all his interest in
 ' *England*, where he must appear a Partisan of the
 ' Pope and of the Court of *Rome*, and would en-
 ' danger the lives and fortunes of all that belonged to
 ' him.'---The Pope seemed satisfied with his reasons;
 and I, says *Beccatelli*, was witness to the *real* joy this
 declaration gave him (*Pole*.) But the next day, whe-
 ther induced by the Imperial Emissaries, or of his
 own motion, the Pope altered his mind, and com-
 manded *Reginald's* immediate obedience. This pe-
 remptory command requiring present compliance,
Beccatelli, who was present, says, *Pole submitted to*
the tonsure with as much reluctance, as the lamb to the
sheering knife^d.

A design of admitting *Erasmus* into the sacred
 College, had not his death, a little before, prevented,
 gives Mr. *Phillips* an opportunity of *drawing to his*
subject the character of that celebrated writer, against
 whom, as well as his Admirer Mr. *Pope*, he is very

G 4

severe,

^c P. 141.^d Dudith. p. 23.

severe, for not adhering steadily either to the *Roman* or *Lutheran* Cause, but behaving with equal insincerity to both*. As it belongs not to the subject, I leave it to those who may think themselves more concerned in his vindication. So much I will venture to say, that if a Protestant writer had attacked the character of *Erasmus* with half this virulence, *Pole*, who was well acquainted with *Erasmus*, would have accosted him in this manner ; ‘ Because he differs in opinion from you, do you therefore charge him with insincerity ? a man most exercised in literature, than whom no one in our age has labored with greater genius or more industry, and who has written more books than I believe you have ever read ; is your rejecting his opinion in some cases a sufficient reason for you to affirm he does not mean what he says ?’ So I venture to declare *Pole* would have written against a Protestant who should have charged *Erasmus* with insincerity ; for so he did write against *Sampson* in the very year that *Erasmus* died*. When his character was better known than it can be now to Mr. *Phillips* : but the Patron of the Monks must hate *Erasmus*.

The

* P. 161.

* Quia tecum non sentit, dicis eum haud sincerè loqui ? an satis est Te contra virum in literis exercitatissimum, quo nemo nostro seculo plus in literis, nec majori ingenio et industriâ laboravit, qui plura opera conscripsit, quam Te putem unquam legisse...contra hunc ergo talem virum satis esse tibi videtur, cum ejus sententiam rejicis, dicere non sincerè eum interpretari et inadvertentè scribere ? *Polus* ad *Sampsonem* ; De Unit. Ecclesiast. Lib. ii.

§. II. *His* The new Cardinal having delivered
Embassies. himself entirely up to the Pope, as he
 professedly did, *me tibi totum trado*, and
 thereby withdrawn all the affection and allegiance
 that was due from him to his Prince, he was judged
 the most proper instrument to be employed against
 King *Henry*. The provocation both to the Pope
 and the Cardinal we have seen; *Henry* would not
 give the one his Kingdom, nor the other his Daugh-
 ter: part of the strength administered to assist their
 endeavours to compel him, he diverted, to pro-
 vide himself with means to resist their attempts;
 this was by raising money, with consent of Parlia-
 ment, by the suppression of some lesser monasteries,
 ejecting the profligate members, making some little
 provision for the voluntary receders, and transferring
 to other monasteries those who chose that way of life.
 In which transaction, we must acknowledge many
 enormous offences on the part of the Monks and
 Nuns, and much hardship and oppression on the part
 of the visitors. This threw upon the publick a great
 number of riotous and debauched people, who could
 but ill brook the loss of their sanctuaries and exemp-
 tion from civil power, in which they had been privi-
 leged by the Pope; and in return for which they
 were warm in the defence of his usurpations over
 the rest of the Kingdom. The King had experi-
 enced their resistance of the Royal Authority in the
 case of the Priors and Monks mentioned in the last
 year, *Webster*, *Reynolds*, and others of the *Char-*
treux. He therefore thought it expedient to deprive
 them of the ability of sending money to the Pope to
 be employed against him, and to convert the means
 to

to his own defence. These men spirited up an undisciplined mob of male-contents in *Lincolnshire*; and a more formidable one in the north, which was conducted by some men of more property, and lay in the neighbourhood of *Scotland*, whose King, on the illegitimation of the two Princesses, was presumptive Heir to the Crown of *England*.

On this occasion, ‘ the Pope’s zeal for reuniting
 ‘ so fair a portion to the Catholick Church...induced
 ‘ *Paul III.* to send Cardinal *Pole* with the character
 ‘ of Legate into the Low Countries, that, being in
 ‘ the neighbourhood of *England*, he might with
 ‘ greater certainty be informed of the dispositions of
 ‘ that nation; exert the influence which his Royal
 ‘ descent, and the great authority he still had, gave
 ‘ him; and if the situation of affairs was such as
 ‘ to make his going over to that Kingdom adviseable,
 ‘ the journey was left to his discretion^f. *Charles*
 and *Francis*, at war with one another, were desirous
 each that his rival should declare against the King of
England, and by that means engage that Prince’s interest
 to himself; they therefore, for their own political
 purposes, encouraged the Cardinal to undertake this
 Commission. Mr. *Phillips* says, he undertook it
 ‘ at the earnest instance of the Emperour’s
 ‘ Ambassadors, and almost by their compulsion^g:
 but *Dudithius* rather remarks his forwardness in
 accepting it, by telling us he did it *not unwillingly**.
 The Plan was suggested by himself to encourage the
 Rebels

^f P. 173. ^g P. 174.

* Hanc provinciam non invitus accepit. *Dudith.*
 p. 24.

Rebels by going over into *England*, if it should be found adviseable, or to fix himself in their neighbourhood, in the Low Countries, and correspond with them from thence : and to excite the neighbouring Princes to aid and assist the Rebels : the aim of this commission we are made acquainted with, by the demands of the Rebels who were to be aided and encouraged ; restoring the Pope to his antient jurisdiction here, and to take off the Princess *Mary's* incapacity to succede to the crown. For this purpose he obtained Letters from the Pope ; one to the *English* Nation, which he desires may be in respectful terms, as if they had been compelled to a defection from the See of *Rome* ; We may judge of their compulsion by a Letter from *Q. Mary* to the Cardinal, representing it as the greatest difficulty she found in *England*, the restoring the Pope's jurisdiction again * : Another to the most Christian King, who

* Adeò enim Delegatio tua publica est suspecta, et nostri subditis odiosa, ut maturior accessus, licet desideratissimus, plus prejudicii quam auxilii fuerit allaturus...plus difficultatis fit circa auctoritatem sedis Apostolicæ, quam circa veræ Religionis cultum, adeò falsis suggestionibus sunt alienati subditorum animi à Pontifice.—Cum verò hæc deliberatio (ut statuta super matrimonio serenissimæ Reginæ Matris meæ abrogarentur) secundo ordini Comitiorum, qui plebeis constat, innotuisset, statim suspicatus est hæc proponi in gratiam Pontificis, ut Supremi Capitis Ecclesiæ Titulus, Coronæ Regiæ annexus, distraheretur, potestatem Pontificis in nostro regno redintegraremus, delegationisq; executioni viam præpareremus, et aperiremus. Epist. Mariæ Reginæ Card. Polo, Quirini, vol. iv. Ep. xlv. p. 119.

Et in Epist. xlv. Verearque ne potius tuæ vitæ insidentur, quam munere Legati fungi sinant, et ferant, tantum

who was adjured by his title to give aid to the *English* Rebels described as zealots for the true religion : A third to the young King of *Scotland*, with a consecrated sword and cap to inflame his youth to undertake the defence of his neighbours the *English* rebels, and fight against the Enemies of the Holy Church : And the last to the Emperour's Sister, Regent of the Low Countries, to excite her to assist the *English* Rebels all in her power, to avenge the honor of her family disgraced by the divorce and illegitimation. And lest any ill success should damp the sedition before he arrived in *Flanders*, he earnestly recommends to his Holiness that he would lodge ample supplies with the Bankers *Fuccari* and *Belzeri*, the larger the better, that he may remit into *England* proper encouragement to prevale on the male-contented to rekindle the rage of Civil War again, and support them in it. And having thus planned how to raise up foreign and domestick enemies to disturb the peace and safety of his natural Lord and munificent Benefactor, he afresh dedicates his life and all his abilities to the obedience of the King's enemy, the Pope of *Rome*.* This entire devotion of an Englishman to the Interest of the See of *Rome*, verified the observation which the Italians had so frequently made, that it became a Proverb, *Anglus Italianatus Diabolus incarnatus : an Englishman Italianized, is a Devil incarnate.*

The

tum abest, ut vel auctoritatem aut obedientiam debitam Ecclesiæ et sedi Apostolicæ sint approbaturi, et recognituri.—

* Obbedito a V. S. alli commandamenti della qua le sottometto la vita & quanto puotro & havero sempre come sono obligatissimo di fare. Instruzione data dal Card. Polo, Quirini, vol. ii. p. cclxxix.

The success of his Embassy was equal to the piety and wisdom of the Plan of it. The poor Cardinal found he was the Dupe of all. He sets out for *Paris*; but the King signified to him, on the very day of his Arrival, that he could not admit him to treat of the business on which he came, nor even permit him to make any stay in his dominions^b. Here therefore ‘ he could only give proof of that patient wisdom, which is best seen where our hopes are abortive.’ⁱ He next hastens to *Cambrai* in his way to *Brussels*: but ‘ the disappointment he met with at the *French* Court was only an essay of what he was to encounter in the sequel of this affair^k. The Regent would not permit him to pursue his journey. What added to his mortification was the defeat of the seditions in *England*. He therefore desires to be recalled: His Holiness signifies ‘ his concern for the unfortunate conclusion of this embassy, and for having exposed the Legate to so many labors and dangers to no purpose.’^l

Thus ended the Embassy of this *all accomplished Churchman and most conspicuous Statesman*: whose religion made him eager in stirring up neighbouring Princes to oppose the temporal power of his King, and plunge the sword of Civil War in the bowels of his Country. Nor was the folly less than the crime of it; in supposing that his Rhetorick would be able to persuade Christian Princes to cut one another’s throats only to establish an usurped authority in the Bishop of *Rome*. So absurd an attempt made some of his friends, ‘ who had the highest reputation for prudence, to say publicly, that they could not but

^a P. 193. ⁱ P. 184. ^k P. 196. ^l P. 206.

‘ but admire his *courage*, and if they had dared to
 ‘ speak out, they would have said his *rashness*: o-
 ‘ thers, to blame his *simplicity*, in suffering himself
 ‘ to be drawn into an affair equally troublesome and
 ‘ hazardous.^m’ Yet this infatuated zealot, un-
 taught by sound judgment, nor yet corrected by ex-
 perience, which ‘ might have evinced the inutility
 ‘ of any scheme to the King of *England*’s disadvan-
 ‘ tage, in which the concurrence of these Princes
 ‘ was necessary,ⁿ’ too easily persuaded and duped,
 ‘ within less than two years after this project was de-
 ‘ feated, undertook a second on the same foundation,
 ‘ which, like this, vanished in apparatus^o.

§. 12. *Sup-
 pression of Mo-
 nasteries.*

These Commotions, exerted chiefly
 by the Monks, drew in train the sup-
 pression of the larger Houses. Here
 I shall not defend the sacrilegious a-
 varice of those, who from that sole motive for-
 warded this suppression, on other accounts in gene-
 ral expedient; nor the oppressions of others exer-
 cised toward the innocent, in the execution. And
 while I am convinced that the Lands then in Mort-
 main far exceeded the proportion that prudence
 should admit in a state, especially as they were appro-
 priated to the support of a standing Army against
 the Royal Authority, yet I also acknowledge that if
 some had been applied to the encouragement of
 piety and learning, such application had been more
 honorable, than wantonly to lavish away for a dish
 of puddings, or prodigally to hang on a cast at ha-
 zard, what might have been usefully employed to
 reward

reward merit in some, and to excite it in others.^p
 Yet the truth of History obliges me to dissent
 from Mr. *Phillips* in his account of the Virtue,
 Learning, and publick Utility of the Monks. He
 tells us, ‘ the people had been witnesses of the gene-
 ‘ ral regularity which prevailed in these retreats from
 ‘ the World, and of the unfair methods used to mis-
 ‘ represent them.’^q That ‘ accusations were re-
 ‘ ceived on the bare credit of such as were chosen to
 ‘ answer the end of the inspection; and the most
 ‘ unfair and shameful methods made use of to tra-
 ‘ duce those, whose cause could not be good under
 ‘ so corrupt a government.’^r

Beside the report of the visitors, their confessions
 of enormous uncleanness are upon record. It is not
 the Commissioners, but one of their own nest, that
 acknowledges ‘ we do nothing search for the doc-
 ‘ trine of Christ, but only follow our sensuality
 ‘ and pleasure.—Monks drink and bull after Col-
 ‘ lation, till ten or twelve of the clock, and come
 ‘ to matins as drunk as mice.—This Religion, as I
 ‘ suppose, is all in vain glory, and nothing worthy
 ‘ to be accepted before God or Man.’^s One well
 acquainted with the transactions of those times, re-
 lates, ‘ when the Commissioners had taken upon
 ‘ them the charge of this examination, and began
 ‘ by one and one to examine those Friars, Monks
 ‘ and Nuns, upon their oaths, sworn upon the E-
 ‘ vangelists, there were discovered Hypocrisies,
 ‘ Murthers, Idolatries, [false] Miracles, Sodomies,
 ‘ Adulteries, Fornications, Pride, Envy, &c. and
 ‘ not seven, but seven hundred thousand deadly sins.
 Alack !

^p P. 216. ^q P. 166. ^r P. 165. ^s Stryp.
 Mem. vol. 1. p. 258.

‘ Alack ! my heart maketh all my members to trem-
 ‘ ble, when I remember the abominations that there
 ‘ were tried out. O Lord God ! (speaking under
 ‘ correction) what canst thou answer to the Five Ci-
 ‘ ties, confounded with cœlestial fire, when they
 ‘ shall alledge before thee the iniquities of those
 ‘ *Religious* whom thou hast so long supported.’ If
 this account of them be true, which indeed their
 own confession confirms, we may ask, are these mis-
 creants the misrepresented injured men, in whose
 defence Mr. *Phillips* dares to draw his pen ? was this
 that general regularity of which the people had been
 witnesses ? were these the vices that derived all their
 malignity from the slander of a corrupt government ?
 Aggravations there might be in the visitors reports,
 for one of them, Dr. *London*, was a meddling, li-
 bidinous, persecuting Priest of the Church of *Rome*,
 so he lived, and so he died : but to see no faults to
 condemn in these Monks, to represent them as inno-
 cent persons, is either to deny all credit to History,
 or to look with a very censurable complacency on
 crimes, which not only every Christian, but every
Man must abhor. The testimony given by the Le-
 gislature to the greater Houses, that *Religion* was
 well kept up and observed in them, as urged by Mr.
Phillips, is a piece of sophistry. *Religion* there means
 the external observance of the Rules of their order,
 and not the practice of Christian Virtues in private.
Religion might be well observed in the first sense, by
 those, who upon a nearer inspection were found to
 be entirely destitute of it, in the latter.

As

† Stryp. Mem. vol. 1. p. 249. * P. 167.

As to their learning, he gives us the following high character of it ; ‘ They not only promoted a
 ‘ general literary improvement, as far as it was un-
 ‘ derstood or attainable in these times, but were in-
 ‘ dustrious in different periods of our national ca-
 ‘ lamities to restore learning, and rescue their coun-
 ‘ try from the ignorance into which those disasters
 ‘ had caused it to fall, and the Monks preserved what
 ‘ these had spared.^w——‘ The Monks were like-
 ‘ wise the Guardians of those sources from whence
 ‘ knowledge is derived, and most of the records of
 ‘ the age were lodged with them.^x’——‘ Our best,
 ‘ and almost only Historians were persons of this
 ‘ profession.^y’——‘ In our Country, true genius
 ‘ and discernment seem to have disappeared almost as
 ‘ soon as they were enjoyed...this obstruction to im-
 ‘ provement, after as fair a prospect as ever opened
 ‘ on a nation, must I think in some measure be at-
 ‘ tributed to the total suppression of that Order of
 ‘ Men, from which Letters had hitherto chiefly
 ‘ drawn their support and encouragement.^z’ What
 were these Monks or their Predecessors in that
 ‘ iron age of ignorance and barbarism, when the
 ‘ sacred lamp of science was almost totally ex-
 ‘ tinct ?^a’ When ‘ ignorance of all ingenuous
 ‘ knowledge, for some ages, spread her sable mantle
 ‘ over all Europe except *Italy*^b.’ But perhaps they
 were the Revivers of Learning among us : so far
 from it, that the Revivers complain of the Monks as
 the greatest enemies to it ; not only *Erasmus* is full
 of these complaints, but Sir *Thomas More*, one of
 H the

^w P. 220.^x P. 222.^y P. 220.^z P. 221.^a P. 3.^b P. 7.

the greatest ornaments of his age for polite Learning, detested the Monks for their ignorance as well as their corrupt manners. And *Bembo*, another of these Revivers, commending the Letters of *Cortesi*, Abbot of St. *George*, at *Venice*, says, ‘ no one will suspect them to be written by a Monk, and to speak plainly, by an ignorant Monk ; which adds much to his commendation, for having wiped away a stain which has so long disgraced that name.’ Mr. *Phillips*, who quotes the above passage, supposes that order of men has since made amends to the Publick : such a defence gives up the point as to the time of which we are now speaking. And if further testimony be wanting, that Mr. *Phillips* has borne false witness in honor of the Monks, I will produce one, to him unexceptionable, speaking of *English* Monks, and that too in the very year when this visitation was made, it is that of *Reginald Pole* himself. In praising his friend *Reynolds*, the religious Monk of *Sion*, he says, he had an extraordinary knowledge of all the liberal arts, drawn from their fountains, which is found in VERY FEW of the monastick Order ; for he perfectly knew the three languages in which all liberal knowledge is contained, with which HE ALONE of all the Monks in *England* was acquainted : And then adding the *Franciscans* to the Order of St. *Bridget*, and the *Carthusians*, he asks, except these three, where will you find any in *England* who have not forsaken the Authors of their Institution* ? so little was Religion

* P. 100.

* Et quod in paucissimis ejus generis hominum reperitur, omnium liberalium artium cognitionem non vulgarem

Religion kept; even in the greater monasteries, and such were the Monks on the Evidence of his own Friends, whom he would pass upon the Readers for the general regularity of their lives, the restorers, the encouragers, the guardians of literature, which disappeared when those monasteries were suppressed. But he allows it had a very short date, even in *Italy*, where monasteries sufficiently abound; so that true genius and discernment may disappear where monasteries are not suppressed.

As to their utility, he represents their alms as sufficient to relieve all the Poor of the Kingdom, without any provision made by Parliament, or any Assessment on the parish for that purpose. And that while their whole income for the support of so many thousands of themselves, and a generous hospitality, came only to 135,522*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.* not more than a twentieth part of the revenue of the whole kingdom (which he sets, at that time, at three millions) their charity at the same time maintained all the Poor, which now costs the Kingdom 800,000*l.* *per ann.* ^d

This is a very gross misrepresentation of Facts: His proportion is falsely affirmed to be only a twentieth part of the whole revenues of the Kingdom. His valuation of the Abbey lands is much below the truth; for they used to take small rents, but very large fines: their annual rents therefore is a false esti-

H 2

mation

^d P. 223.

rem habebat, eamq; ex ipsis haustam fontibus. Nam tres præcipuas linguas, quibus omnis literalis doctrina continetur, probè callebat, et *Solus* ex Monachis Anglis callebat. *Polus de Unit. Eccles. Lib. iii.*

Quosnam habes, cum ab iis discesseris, qui non prorsus ab instituti sui authoribus degeneraverint? *Ibid.*

mation of their value. The Supplication of Beggars sets it at a third ; Lord *Herbert* at a third or fourth part ; which, supposing the whole to be only three millions, will amount at least to the sum of 800,000*l.* And money being then, as this Gentleman admits, five times the value it is now, their endowments were equivalent to four millions : so that if the Publick gave up four millions yearly to be eased of the burthen of keeping the poor, and it should now, as he states it, cost only 800,000*l.* *we shall see what the nation has gained by the dissolution*, taking the rents of the Kingdom at that time, and the present expence of the Poor, at his own calculation.

It should moreover be observed, that notwithstanding this ample allowance for the relief of the Poor, the Religious Houses sunk great part of it, and suffered the Poor to starve. From the misapplication of the revenues of Monasteries^e ; from the over-charging Religious Houses with corodies and pensions^f ; from the Abbots and Superiors imposing heavy taxes on them^g : by which means (as the Statutes complain) *alms are not given to the poor, the sick and feeble ; and many men and women have died in great misery, for default of aid, living, and succour.* The Reader is to remark further, that this obligation to maintain and relieve the poor did not cease at the dissolution, but passed to the new Owners with the lands under a penalty of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per month for default or neglect. And so continued, notwithstanding

^e 2 H. v. c. 1.
1. St. i. c. 1.

^f 9 Ed. 2. St. i. c. 11.

^g 35 Ed.

ing the parochial assessments, till the 21st of *James I.* when these lands were discharged.

It is likewise a great mistake to say, that there was no provision made by Parliament, nor any assessment on Parishes for the relief of the Poor. There have been Laws of Kings, and Injunctions of Councils from the days of *Edgar* to the very year of the dissolution of the lesser Houses for this purpose. Almsgiving was enjoined, imprudent modes of it restrained, Briefs granted by the Bishop to his Clergy to excite their Congregations to a generous contribution^h; begging was encouraged, within such limits as led the way to modern settlements, officers appointed to collect and apply the charity of well disposed Christians: And as to the assessments on the people, their burthen may be very difficult to ascertain, but we may easily guess it was not less than the present rates; from the obligation laid on all men to give alms daily, on fast days to add more; commuting for penance by alms; pilgrimages, offerings, redeeming souls out of Purgatory by such meritorious good works; dying persons persuaded to remember the Poor in their wills; the charities distributed at Funerals; and the penny a quarter to the five Orders of Friars paid by every House, amounting to 43,000*l. per annum*, then, which would be of our money, according to Mr. *Phillips's* calculation, 215,000*l.* all this will enable us to see in great measure what the nation has gained by the dissolution.

That our Poor are more numerous and more burthenfome than could in reason be expected, is what

H 3

men

^h See Archer's Account of Religious Houses, p. 619, 620.

men of reflection acknowledge with concern, and many have offered their thoughts how it may be remedied, yet without success: but the dissolution of monasteries has contributed nothing to this disorder. The restoring so many thousands of both sexes to the divine institution of marriage has encreased our people; the throwing back into the common stock of national industry such great numbers of useless persons, who would have been locked up in cloysters; the recovery of so many superstitious Holydays to useful labor, which had been wasted in idleness and riot, have made arts and commerce flourish; insomuch, that while the revenue of the lands of the Kingdom, as Mr. *Phillips* states it, was only three millions yearly at the time of the dissolution, to which Trade, Manufactures and Commerce added comparatively little, the whole has been computed by Dr. *Davenant* many years ago at forty-three millions. The encrease of people by that event, the encrease of industry by the same means, and the taking out of Mortmain such vast tracts of land for the encouragement of that industry at that time having chiefly contributed to this astonishing success, *let us see* with an evidence not to be disputed, *that the nation has gained very considerably by the dissolution*; and might gain much more, had not *Italian* vices been imported among us, and if every idle pair of hands among the able Poor could be compelled to work or starve.

§. 13. Particularly the Shrines of St. Austin and St. Thomas of Canterbury.

In the suppression of the Greater Houses, when their juggling and impostures were detected, and their instruments of superstition and deceit removed, two instances gave particular disgust to the Cardinal, which Mr. Phillips also resents: they were both at *Canterbury*. There was a Shrine, Church, and Monastery dedicated to St. *Augustin*, who came over to convert the Saxons, who had overran *Britany*, and drove the old Britons into the mountains: the new erected Saxon Churches submitted to the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*; but the British Churches, when required by *Augustin* to do the same, refused to do so; for which this Apostle from *Rome* is reported to have stirred up *Edelbert*, King of *Kent*, with an army to murder *Dinnoch* and twelve hundred Monks of *Bangor*. ‘*Augustin*, says the Cardinal, was He who begat us in the faith, who first brought the Gospel to us, by whose preaching we were born to the inheritance of the sons of God,ⁱ’ With respect to his own British Ancestors this was not true; but the merit of introducing the Pope’s Supremacy into *England*, where it was not known before, and the supposed zeal of massacring twelve hundred Monks for resisting it, advanced him to a Canonization among the Saxon Papalins. King *Henry*, descended from those Britons who refused that Supremacy, revenged the deaths of those Monks of *Bangor*, by extirpating out of these kingdoms that bloody usurpation, and destroying the places dedicated to the memory of this

H 4

ⁱ Apolog. ad Carol. §. 24.

this Monk at *Canterbury*. This indignity the Cardinal, though descended as well as the King from those *Britons*, could not brook ; and ‘ sets it forth, says his
 ‘ Biographer, in all the eloquence that ever anima-
 ‘ ted a Grecian or Roman Writer, on subjects with
 ‘ which they were most affected.^k’ All the elo-
 quence of *Greece* or *Rome* one would think should
 have satisfied Mr. *Phillips* ; but he unmercifully en-
 deavours to whet it to a sharper edge. The Cardinal
 says, He not only pulled down the Shrine, but he
 entirely destroyed first That, then the Church to-
 gether with the Monastery : and the place before de-
 dicated to God and this Saint (in which, night and
 day, Men set apart to God, sang praises with thank-
 givings and intercessions to God, for the welfare of
 the King chiefly, and of his whole realm) turning
 out these holy men, he converted to his own use,
 and that of wild beasts, by making a park there, and
 a palace for himself out of the ruins of the Monas-
 tery. This, in the Biographer’s version, is, ‘ the
 ‘ inclosure was laid waste, and appropriated to wild
 ‘ beasts, and a palace raised out of the ruins for
 ‘ something still more savage, Himself.^l’ Thus he
 adds a glare to the solemnity of the Cardinals co-
 loring, as *Rubens* ventured to heighten and improve
 his drawings after *Julio Romano*.

The other instance complained of was the digging
 up the bones of St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, burning
 them, and scattering the ashes in the air. This was
 a crime, which the Cardinal uses all his powers of
 Rhetorick to aggravate. ‘ It was so impious, that
 ‘ it proves his likeness to the Prince of impiety ; for
 ‘ only Satan rages against Men after they are dead :
 ‘ nay

^k P. 225.

^l P. 226.

‘ nay the malice of the Divel is too faint to furnish
 ‘ out a sufficient comparifon, He raging only againſt
 ‘ the wicked after death, or good Men while living:
 ‘ but the King rages againſt dead Saints, whoſe Se-
 ‘ pulchres the Divels are afraid to come near. To
 ‘ dig up the bones of a Man long ſince dead, to
 ‘ burn them, when reduced to aſhes to ſcatter them
 ‘ in contempt in the wind, he queſtions whether
 ‘ there ever was read of ſuch an act of cruelty; this
 ‘ he is ſure of, if any ſuch thing ſhould be attempt-
 ‘ ed by any one, thoſe who act only according to
 ‘ the light of nature would condemn him as a very
 ‘ profligately wicked fellow. To root up buried
 ‘ bones is the part of a wild beaſt and not of a
 ‘ Man.^m’

If the fact was as he relates it, it was a piece of
 impotent malice, which deſerves censure: but the
 burning is not certain; and the blending the bones
 and aſhes with others, was to prevent that idolatry
 and impoſition which had ſo long prevailed, and was
 ſo extravagant, that the Church, which was o-
 riginally dedicated to Chriſt, was tranſlated from him
 by the ſuperſtitious Votaries and in the eſteem of the
 Vulgar to the honor of *St. Thomas of Canterbury*;
 who was ſo much more venerated than the *Virgin*
Mary, or *Chriſt* himſelf, that (as *Biſhop Burnet* in-
 forms us) in one year, when his offerings roſe to near
 a thouſand pounds, the *Virgin's* Altar received no
 more than 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* and *Chriſt's* had not one
 penny. To put a ſtop to this blind devotion cannot
 in reaſon deſerve ſo ſevere a censure. And he ought
 to have been more merciful to the diggers up of dead
 Men's

Men's bones; for though *Pole* had never read of such a thing, the greater reading of his Biographer has furnished us with an instance of a Pope's being thus wicked; for, as he tells us, *Formosus* ordered the bones of his Predecessor to be taken up, for having been a Bishop before he was Popeⁿ.

My reading indeed does not confirm this fact: but I have read in *Platina*, that *Stephen VI.* in Council, ordered the bones of *Formosus* to be dug up, and thrown into the *Tyber*, for having formerly disappointed him of the Popedom. However, if the Cardinal's reading would not furnish him with instances of dead Mens bones being dug up, might not his sagacity have suggested to him, that it was no new thing? else how came the skull of *St. Thomas* to be venerated there as a precious relict? It is true the skull was not His, for that was found with the rest of his bones; but then the skull of some body else had been dug up, and venerated for his, and was as potent in working miracles as that of the Saints own would have been. So that this unheard of exhumation was a common practice in the Church of *Rome*, to gull people out of their money. Nay, who would think it? the Cardinal himself played this part of a wild beast, which he falsely charges upon *Henry*: procuring from Queen *Mary* a warrant to dig up the bones of *Bucer* and *Paul Fagius* at *Cambridge*, and to burn them as Hereticks after they were dead; as he did also to burn the bones of his old friend *Peter Martyr's* wife at *Oxford*. Here *Pole* had an opportunity of contrasting the behaviour of the Turks at the taking of *Rhodes* with his

his own impiety. ‘ Those conquerors, though under all the prejudices of Mahometan Superstition, had not removed any of the Monuments of the Saints, which they found in the Island, nor offered the least insult to them; and had behaved through the whole affair, with the greatest decency and humanity.’

He goes on, ‘ He had been acknowledged by the whole Christian World, by the space of three hundred years, as a great servant of God, who laid down his life in his cause, and was a principal Patron of the *English* nation.’ So far from the Cardinal: but Mr. *Phillips*, to suit himself to the fashion of the times, observes, ‘ the Cardinal has considered this Prelate as a *Saint* and a *Martyr*: but the temper of these times seems to require that something should be said of him, as a MEMBER OF THE COMMUNITY, and one, whose High Office of Prelate obliged him to be the guardian of her liberties; the qualities which fill up the measure of this character, being in the eye of an Englishman, what makes a Hero, and, which is a still more sacred name, a *Patriot*.’ — ‘ Of sixteen articles to which *Henry II.* required the Archbishop to subscribe, six were manifestly destructive of those immunities, which then made up no less a part of our Constitution, than any others contained in the Great Charter. He refused to betray this trust, and shewed a fortitude, which, was the chief Magistrate of our Metropolis to exert in defence of its liberty, and die in the cause, the whole nation would think his memory deserving of the greatest

‘ est honors... Few persons, I presume, will be so
 ‘ lost to all justness of sentiment, as to make here
 ‘ any distinction between the legal claims of the
 ‘ Clergy, and those of the Laity : since he, who
 ‘ lays down his life in defence of either, equally
 ‘ asserts the common cause, and presents his breast to
 ‘ that stroke which was aimed at his country.’

Now those six articles, as well as the others, were the antient Laws of the Kingdom, which had been violated by pretended immunities of the Clergy, which grew up after the *Normans* had separated the King’s and Bishop’s Courts, who in the *Saxon* times sat together. The Archbishop swore to observe these antient Laws, *with good faith, and without deceit*, in opposition to a subterfuge by which he hoped to have eluded the observance of them, which was by the reserve of *saving his Order* : but the King insisted upon the oath without the evasion ; which *Becket*, though with reluctance, took ; and afterwards acted contrary to his oath, being absolved from it by the Pope. If we enquire, what were those immunities, and legal claims of the Clergy, which this *Patriot, and Patron of his Country* insisted on, and defended, we shall find they were in fact a privilege *for Himself*, not to account to the King for money which he had received for the King’s use, while he was Chancellor ; and *to the Clergy in general*, an exemption from Civil punishments for any offences, even robbery, rape, or murder. *Neuburgensis*, who wrote under the very next reign, gives the following account of those times ; ‘ more than an hundred
 ‘ murders are said to have been committed by the
 ‘ Clergy

‘ Clergy under King *Henry II*....the Bishops while
 ‘ they labor more to maintain the liberties and dig-
 ‘ nities of Churchmen than to correct their vices,
 ‘ think they do God and the Church great service,
 ‘ if they rescue and defend the enormities of the
 ‘ Churchmen against publick discipline...whence the
 ‘ Clergy...taking licence and liberty to do what they
 ‘ please, neither reverence God, nor men set in au-
 ‘ thority.’^s Such was the merit of this publick
 spirited Patriot! who did not present his own breast
 to any stroke that was aimed at his Country, but
 bared the breasts of all the Laity to the daggers of
 sanctified Assassins, who might strike with impunity.
 Good God! of what monstrous crimes has Mr.
Phillips undertaken the defence! what pests to so-
 ciety has he dignified and recommended to our imi-
 tation as illustrious examples of Heroism and Patri-
 otism! But, says the Cardinal, ‘ God vouches for
 ‘ him by the *Miracles* wrought in attestation.’ I will
 not conceal that I find these miracles urged in proof
 of his Saintship within less than fifty years after his
 unwarrantable murder, when people were not quite
 satisfied with the merit and virtue of his conduct.
 At which time *Cæsarius* the Monk informs us, it
 was a moot point at *Paris*, whether *Becket* was saved
 or damned. *Roger* the *Norman* maintained the latter,
 for his resisting God’s Minister the King: *Peter*
Cantor, on the contrary, urging his Miracles in testi-
 mony of his Holiness and Salvation.^t So that we
 see, even at that time of day, among the members
 of the Church of *Rome*, his cause was so suspicious,
 that

^s Ex Chronico Neub. vid. Fox, vol. 1. ^t Lib.
 viii. cap. 69. vide Fox, vol. 1.

that were it not for the miracles wrought by him, he was judged in danger of being damned as a Rebel against his King. Nearly of the same opinion seems to have been *Bossuet*, the Bishop of *Meaux*; ‘ if the cause, in which this Prelate died, has appeared
 ‘ æquivocal to the low views of wordly prudence, it
 ‘ has pleased the wisdom of the Almighty to declare in
 ‘ its favor by wonders, which were so frequent, and
 ‘ so well attested, by the unanimous agreement of all
 ‘ Authors of those times, that they cannot be con-
 ‘ tested without calling in question whatever History
 ‘ has transmitted to us.” Whence it appears that the virtues of this Saint were so doubtful, that miracles only could ascertain them. I acknowledge that at that time of day, miracles only were sufficient to procure a Canonization. ‘ If he be eminent
 ‘ for miracles, says Pope *Benedict VIII.* account
 ‘ him a Saint.* And so it continued till *Becket* was canonized, two years after he was assassinated, about the year 1173: But by the end of that Century, *Innocent III.* was sensible that many, whose reputation for miracles was great, were of very blameable lives†, therefore not thinking miracles alone sufficient to ascertain an æquivocal character, he required both should concur in order to this Honor; and from that time to the days of *Luther*, all the Bulls of Canonization run in this form, *of whose holiness of life,*
and

* P. 227.

* Si ita coruscat miraculis...tractate eum ut Sanctum, *Justi Fontanini Codex Canoniz. A. D. 1016.*

† Quidam etiam coruscant miraculis, quorum tamen vita meritò reprobatur...ad id nec opera sufficiunt sola, nec signa. *Epist. Innoc. III. Tom. 1. Lib. 1. Epist. 530.*

and certainty of miracles we are assured§. And reason good, for as a *Parisian* Divine observes, ‘ if one
 ‘ who is damned (for his wicked life) should be ca-
 ‘ nonized for a Saint, the Church must appear most
 ‘ ridiculous to the Devils themselves, when they see
 ‘ it so devoutly worship a man, whom they are tor-
 ‘ menting every day with the most exquisite tortures,
 ‘ and will torment for ever†.’ So that, according
 to the later and more correct judgment of the Church
 of *Rome*, *Roger* the *Norman* might have still main-
 tained his opinion, notwithstanding whatever *Peter*
Cantor could urge from the *coruscation* of miracles;
 for that is their usual term; by which I should sup-
 pose they mean that vibrating fame, which glitters in
 a vague opinion, but is not steadily fixed by any cer-
 tainty of facts. For, which throws a little suspicion
 even on the truth of his miracles, his Canonization
 passed within about two years of his death; whereas
 the more prudent Popes now, as we see by *Benedict*
XIV. would not have such haste made in applying
 for one, but expect a competent time from the death;
 for he says, ‘ it is no uncommon thing that upon the
 ‘ death of one of the Faithful, a great fame be
 ‘ spread abroad of his virtues and miracles, which
 ‘ fame nevertheless is apt to vanish in time, unless
 it

§ De cujus vitæ sanctitate et miraculorum veritate
 certi sumus.

† Si qui inter Sanctos ad inferos damnatus esset, lu-
 dibrio maximo esset ipsis dæmonibus Ecclesia, quum vi-
 derent, eam tam impensè colere et venerari, quem ex-
 quisitissimis tormentis indies cruciant, et in perpetuum
 cruciabunt. *Andreas Dwallius de Rom. Pontif. in Ec-
 cles. potestate. p. 11. p. 336.*

‘ it is founded on certain facts.*’ And what are now become of the miracles of St. *Thomas of Canterbury*? time and the counsels of divine wisdom, though the artifices of men supported them awhile, have made them vanish. Some account of them may be seen in *Fox*, vol. 1. p. 293. too ridiculous, and too foul to blot my page with. And if Mr. *Phillips*, or that *greatest Scholar, Orator, and Divine of his Age*, as Lord *Bolingbroke* calls *Bossuet*, are weak enough seriously to believe the Monkish Legends of his miracles, or wicked enough to apply them in evidence when they do not believe them, their heads or their hearts are of such a texture, as, either for their folly, or their knavery, to deserve no credit.

§. 14. *The Pope's Supremacy.* The *End* at which Mr. *Phillips* aims, and to inculcate which the life of this Cardinal was chosen as a proper mean, is the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*, as of divine right, and necessary to salvation; and thence to infer the damnable impiety of those, who refuse that supremacy in this Kingdom, and maintain the King's over all his Subjects. These are no trifling points if his foundation is strong: he asserts indeed, ‘ the Pope's supremacy ‘ was entirely abolished, and a power usurped by *Henry*

* Nihil enim frequentius esse, quam post mortem aliqujus fidelis viri, aut mulieris, magnam sanctitatis vel miraculorum opinionem in populo oriri, ac potissimum si ab aliquibus de industriâ rumor foveatur; quæ tamen opinio, nisi veritate innixa sit, vel ipso temporis lapsu languescere et interire, vel, etiamsi hominum artificiis aliquandiu sustentari pergat, perspicuis tandem Divinæ Sapientiæ consiliis destrui, et confundi consuevit. Benedictus Papa Episcopo Augusteno, 15 Oct. 1745.

‘ Henry of laying waste that fair edifice, which, like
 ‘ all others throughout the Christian World, had
 ‘ been founded by the Divine Law-giver, on the
 ‘ pre-eminence of that See, and had rested on it,
 ‘ in this Kingdom, since its first establishment, du-
 ‘ ring nine hundred years.^w—’That the King’s
 ‘ claim was repugnant to all Antiquity.^x—And
 that the acknowledgment of it ‘ separated the na-
 ‘ tion from the Catholick Church.^y’ I wish Mr.
Phillips, in condescension to men of only plane sense,
 had been more explicit, or less figurative, in the first
 of these periods, that I might be certain what he
 means by *that fair edifice*; whether the Pope’s su-
 premacy, or the Church in general, or this Church
 in particular, or any thing else: or what he means
 by *that See*, which has nothing in the sentence to
 which it may refer. Many questions the vagueness
 of his expression might lead me to ask; but from
 referring in the margin to St. *Matth.* ch. xvi. and
 knowing in what sense *Pole* interprets that Text, I
 presume Mr. *Phillips* intended to assert, that the su-
 premacy of the Bishop of *Rome* over the universal
 Church was given to him by *Christ*, by virtue of
 these words, *Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I*
build my Church. Now for the sake of such *English*
 Readers into whose hands this Book may have fallen,
 and who have not read the volumes on this Contro-
 versy; since Mr. *Phillips* dares obtrude upon them,
 as uncontroverted maxims, errors which have been
 again and again refuted, he makes it necessary for
 me to retail to those Readers an answer to his ground-
 less assertions; and shew them that *Christ* did not
 I give

^w P. 71.^x P. 70.^y P. 2.

give any supremacy to the Bishop of *Rome* by those words—that the King's claim is agreeable to *all* antiquity—that we may be members of the Catholick Church, though we acknowledge our King as supreme within his own dominions, and refuse to submit to the authority of the Bishop of Rome—and therefore that an Englishman may continue a good Subject to his King, and be in a salvable state whatever *Pole* or *Phillips* advance or insinuate to the contrary.

To say nothing of the Bishop of *Rome*, of whom the Scriptures say not a word; we deny that these words give any supremacy to *Peter* himself over the rest of the Apostles: *Pole* says, the Church has universally interpreted the words so; and that their universal practice has been agreeable to that interpretation. The various interpretations of these words in the Church, even of Popes themselves, destroy the uniformity which *Pole* contends for; yet, he attempts to prove, that this was their opinion, from their universal acknowledgment of a supremacy in *Peter* and his Successors at *Rome*, from that time to this. This is so far from being true, that there has been *no* time in which it has been universally assented to. At the very time that this great privilege is *supposed* to be given to *Peter*, it was not so understood by him, or by the other Apostles; for after this declaration of *Christ*, the Disciples reasoned among themselves, *who should be the Greatest?* which could not have been, if their master had decided this matter before: at least, here was an opportunity for *Christ* to have explained himself, if he had intended any such superiority to *Peter*. Instead of that, he
condemns

condemns the contention, and the pride of aiming at a superiority. This *Pole* himself acknowledges; and in excuse asks, what occasion was there for *Christ*, while he was himself present on earth, to appoint a Vicar? Thence I infer by *Pole's* own confession, that the Supremacy was not granted to *Peter* by virtue of the Text before-mentioned.

Driven from this Text *Pole* flies to another, and says the supremacy was given by *Christ* just before his Ascension, in these words, *Feed my Sheep*. But the other Apostles were also to *feed the flock of God over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers*. To which *Pole* answers, other magistrates are sworn to administer justice as well as Kings; are they therefore Kings? we may reply, that if there was no other designation or appointment of a King, than the same oath that is given to a common magistrate, it would be difficult to distinguish the King from the common magistrate.

He then appeals to Custom, for the confirmation of this supremacy. But as the Scriptures make no mention of one Apostle over the rest, so neither did the primitive Church acknowledge the supremacy of one Bishop over all others. The *Apostolical Canons*, which at latest are allowed to have been made before the Empire was Christian, direct that the Bishop of *each Nation* should know him who is first amongst them, and should esteem him the Head, and do nothing extraordinary without his advice: and that each of them should only meddle with those affairs which concerned his own precinct and the places under it. *Canon 34*. Here is a prohibition against the Bishop of *Rome's* pragmatical meddling with
I 2
causes

causes or persons out of his own diocese. Such also we learn from *Cyprian* was the custom of those times; none of us, says he, makes himself a Bishop of Bishops, every Bishop is *sui juris*, and can neither condemn or be condemned by another^z. And in the Epistles of Pope *Pius II*, there is an acknowledgment that ‘ before the Council of *Nice* every Bishop lived independent on another, and small regard was had to the Bishop of *Rome**.’ In that Council, when the Emperour was become a Christian, the VIth Canon ordains, that ‘ the antient custom shall be observed, which gives power to the Bishop of *Alexandria* over all the Provinces of *Ægypt*, *Lybia*, and *Pentapolis*, because the Bishop of *Rome* had the like jurisdiction over all the suburbicary regions.’ The Bishop of *Rome* therefore had no superior power over the Bishop of *Alexandria*, or of the *African* Churches, only over those of his own Provinces, and that too limited, not to direct or interpose, but to consecrate, or call them to *Provincial* Councils: For *General* Councils were called by the Emperour†; *Constantine* presided at that of *Nice*, and confirmed the Canons, while the

Representatives

^z Præf. Concil. Carthag.

* Ante Nicenam Synodum unusquisque (de Episcopis loquitur) sibi vixit; et parvus respectus ad Romanam Ecclesiam habebatur. *Æneæ Sylv. Ep. 288.*

† Sciendum est, quod in universalibus octo Conciliis ubi Imperatores interfuerunt, & non Papa, semper invenio Imperatores et Judices suos cum senatu Primatum habuisse, et officium Presidentiæ per interlocutiones, & ex consensu Synodi, sine mandato, conclusiones et judicia fecisse. *Card. Cusan. De Concord. Lib. iii. Cap. 16.*

Representatives of the Bishop of *Rome* subscribed after one who sat as superior. Some years after indeed the Bishop of *Rome* endeavoured to establish a superiority by claiming a right to send his Legates to hear causes in the *African* Churches : but the Bishops of that district withstood him as having no such power. He grounded his pretence on the VIth Canon of that very Council of *Nice*, which, as the *Romanists* quoted it, asserted their Pontiff's Supremacy : but the *African* Bishops alledged, that the Canon so quoted was forged ; and this they proved by authentick copies of it from other Churches, in which no such Canon was found^a. Had the uniform interpretation of the Text above-mentioned, and universal custom founded on it, given to the Bishop of *Rome* the Supremacy and right of examining and determining all Causes in all Churches, the *Africans* could not have disputed it ; nor would the Bishop of *Rome* have had occasion to forge a Canon in the Council of *Nice*, on which to have built his claim. Had he received that Power by virtue of the promise to *Peter*, he dishonored the Donor, and weakned his own authority, by grounding it on human indulgence in the Council of *Nice* : but it is plain the Pope knew nothing of it, the *African* Bishops knew nothing of it, and the Pope was willing to be indebted to man for it, and attempted to obtain it by forgery.

Their words are so apposite to the Queen's Appeal to *Rome*, from the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s sentence, that I shall give them to the Reader, at once to prove the truth in point, and to justify the King's

I 3

refusal

^a *Afric. Concil. cap. 105.*

refusal to submit his cause to the Pope's judgment.
 ' Your Holiness ought to reject those Priests and other
 ' Clergymen who apply themselves to you (and if the
 ' Clergy are forbidden to apply, much more the
 ' Laity) because we no where read that the Canons
 ' have taken away this privilege [of judging causes
 ' in their own district] from the *African Church*;
 ' and the *Nicene Canons* do most evidently commit
 ' inferior Clergymen and the Bishops themselves to
 ' their own Metropolitans. For the Fathers of that
 ' Council were wise and just enough to see, that all
 ' Causes ought to be decided in those very places
 ' where they have their birth; and that each Pro-
 ' vince shall not want the light of the Holy Spirit,
 ' which is necessary to direct and enable them to do
 ' justice to their people: especially as every one who
 ' thinks himself wronged by the sentence of the
 ' Judges, may have their recourse to the Synod of
 ' that Province, or to a National Council. Were it
 ' not great rashness in any one of us to believe, that
 ' God can inspire by his Spirit one single person to
 ' do justice, and deny the same to a great number of
 ' Bishops assembled in a Council? And how can it
 ' be imagined that judgment given out of the Coun-
 ' try, and beyond the seas, can stand, since it is of-
 ' ten impossible, through age, or sex, or other im-
 ' pediments, to transport witnesses? For that any
 ' should be sent (as Legates) from your Holiness's
 ' side, we find decreed by no Synod of the Fathers.
 ' As to that which you sent us hither by *Faustinus*,
 ' as a part of the *Nicene Council*, in the truer Co-
 ' pies which we have received from Holy *Cyril*,
 ' Bishop of *Alexandria*, and Reverend *Atticus* Bishop
 ' of *Constantinople*, taken out of the Originals them-
 ' selves,

“ selves, we could find no such thing. And as for
 “ your Agents and Ministers send them not ; grant
 “ them not at every man’s request, least we seem to
 “ introduce into the Church, which breathes nothing
 “ but humility, the Pomp and Vanity of the Age.^b”

The *Greek*, the *Alexandrian*, and the *Eastern* Churches, that is, the Bishops of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, claimed equal rights, powers, and authorities, in their respective Dioceses (I mean in the larger extent of the word, as comprehending several Provinces in their jurisdiction) as the Bishop of *Rome* did in his ; leaving to him a priority of order or precedence. Every City had a Bishop, who was to govern the people under him, independent on any other ; this is the power given by *Christ* to his Apostles ; but the Apostolical Canons order every Bishop to acknowledge his Primate, and esteem him as his Head ; that is, where many Cities were subject to one Mother City, called the *Metropolis*, the Bishop of that superior City was called a Primate or Metropolitan ; and had authority to ordain or suspend the other Bishops within his Province, to reconcile differences amongst them, and call them to Synod : This was Apostolical Order, prescribed by the early Successors of the Apostles, called therefore in the Council of *Nice*, τὰ ἀρχαία ἔθνη, or the *antient customs*. Where several Provinces composed one Diocese (in the larger sense of the word) under an Exarch, the Bishop of that Exarchate or Diocese was called a Patriarch, and had a like power over all those Provinces, as the Metropolitans had in their Provinces. When the Empire became Christian

I 4

there

^b *Afric. Concil. cap. 105.*

there were Three of these Patriarchs in the church, at *Rome*, at *Alexandria*, and at *Antioch*; beside some Insular Churches which had an independency on any Patriarchate. Of those Patriarchs the Bishop of *Rome* was first, as being Bishop of the chief City in the whole Empire: but afterward, when *Constantinople* became the residence of the Emperour, the Council of *Chalcedon* gave its Bishop a Patriarchate, next to that of *Rome*, and before that of *Alexandria*; granting him ἴσα πρεσβεία, equal rights and powers with that of *Rome*. Neither had authority over the other: but *Rome* had precedence of session when they met in Council, and priority of order in the Dypticks when the Governours of the Churches were enumerated. When such authority over others was claimed by the Bishop of *Constantinople*, under the Title, which the Pope now challenges, of *Universal Bishop*, *Gregory I.* himself condemned the claim as unchristian; and makes the Primacy of *Peter* belong to three Churches, *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, all which he contends are but one See. What answer, says he, writing to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, will you make to Christ, the Head of the Universal Church, in the last judgment, for endeavouring, by the appellation of UNIVERSAL, to make all his members subject to thee? — Yet *Gregory's* Successor, *Boniface*, obtained a grant from *Phocas*, who slew his Master and seized the Empire, that *Rome* should be called the Head of the Church. Such was the worthy beginning of this proud anti-christian Title; and proves at the same time, that if the Civil Power can give, it may as well also take away the Supremacy.

Supremacy. And whatever hard names *Pole* or his Biographer may bestow on King *Henry*, and whatever his vices may have been, they must allow, that the King, who denied this Supremacy within his own territories to the Pope, was at least a better King than the Traitor who gave it him. The Greek Church acknowledges his spiritual functions as a Bishop to be derived from Christ ; but his Priority in dignity to be only by the concession of his Brother Bishops, and the indulgence of Princes. In like manner the other Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* denied his authority over them. Thus we see the general interpretation of the Church, and their general practice or custom were directly contrary to what *Pole* asserts ; and contradict what I suppose Mr. *Phillips* affirms, that the Church throughout the Christian World was founded by the Divine Law-giver on the pre-eminence of the See of *Rome*^d : nor need we stop our ears against the question, When did this Supremacy begin, or by what means gain ground ? History enables us to answer it ; By the ambition and fraud of Popes, the force of wicked Princes, and the concessions of weak ones : Attempted in some degree by *Gregory I.* obtained by *Boniface III.* and confirmed by *Gregory VII.*

But ‘ the church in *this kingdom* had rested on the pre-eminence of the See of *Rome*, since its first establishment, nine hundred years,^e’ Does Mr. *Phillips* mean, that Christianity had been introduced into this Island only nine hundred years before *Henry VIII.* and that it was at first established upon the Pope’s Supremacy, and had rested on it ever since ?
If

If I am so happy as to hit his meaning, I will not complain of the doubtfulness of his expression, but proceed to shew that every branch of this affirmation is false. From the days of *Augustin* the Monk, to the times he speaks of, were nine hundred years; but there was a Christian Church here long before that time, and a Christian Church which knew nothing of the Pope's Supremacy. And St. *Augustin* has been reported to have been the occasion of massacring 1200 Monks at *Bangor* for refusing submission to this novel yoke, as has been before observed. *Britain* was not in the Patriarchate of the West, and had enjoyed, like other Insular Churches, an independency on any Patriarch. Such *Cyprus* claimed in the *Ephesine* Council, and such *Britain* asserted. And the Pope declared in the affair of *Pelagius*, that he had no authority to bring *Pelagius*, being a *Briton*, before him. So that two of his implications are disproved; the third, that the Pope's Supremacy had been acknowledged here through the intervening nine Centuries, may be true in *some degree*, but *various*, according as the circumstances of times, or the spirit or weakness of Princes permitted or restrained it. A view of which rather belongs to the other Great Question, The *Regal* Supremacy, or *Henry's* claim of being Head of the Church in *England*, under Christ.

This claim we are told is 'contrary to all antiquity.^f' Whatever comes of the term itself, the Supremacy claimed by it is unquestionably as old as Royalty. Among the *Greeks* let *Aristotle* witness,

^f P. 70.

ness, who tells us, Divine things were committed to Kings, and that He was the Lord or Chief Governour over them*. Among the *Roman* laws this was express, that all things belonging to Religion were under the Regal power†. The first Christians, while *Rome* continued Heathen, are commanded to be subject to the Civil power, to the King as supreme, and to inferior Magistrates as Ministers sent by him; and *Peter* himself submitted to the Sword of *Nero*, in that very City where now his Successor usurps domination over all the Princes of the Earth. Did their becoming Christian make them forfeit their original superiority, and defer it to the Bishop? As Scripture is confessedly silent in this case, History assures us, that the fact was otherwise. *Socrates* tells us, ‘from the time that Emperours became Christian, Ecclesiastical matters depended on them‡’ And *Chrysostome* calls the Emperour the Supreme and Head over all Men on earth, who has no equal§. The *Great Alciate* himself, a co-temporary of *Pole’s*, bears testimony, ‘that there can be no doubt but that in the primitive Church, Emperours had the jurisdiction of Persons and causes Ecclesiastical &c. We

§ Alciat. in codic. rubric. ff. Eccles. tom. 3. p. 198.

* Τα πρὸς τὰς Θεὰς ἀποδέδωται τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. Polit. lib. iii. c. 5.

† Ο βασιλεὺς τῶν πρὸς τὰς Θεὰς κύριος. Ibid lib. ii.

‡ Sacrorum omnium potestas sub Regibus esto.

§ Ἀφ’ ἧς χριστιανίζειν ἤρξαντο, τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγματα ἡρτητο ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ αἱ μέγισται συνόδοι τῇ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ γιγνόμεναι τε καὶ γίνονται.

§ Βασιλεὺς γὰρ ἐστὶν κορυφὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀνθρώπων. Ad. Pop. Antioch. Hom. ii. p. 28. Edit. Trent. Duc.

We might instance in *Constantine*, who called General Councils, confirmed their decrees, rejudged causes tried in Synods, when it was inconvenient to judge in person he delegated Bishops in his stead, and sometimes the Bishop of *Rome* himself. So that the first Christian Emperour did act as supreme Head in the Church, and the Bishop of *Rome* himself could not judge by virtue of being *Christ's* Vicar, and *Peter's* Successor, and Universal Pastor, but as Delegate to the Emperour^h. His Successors in the Empire exercised like authority; I shall instance only in *Justinian*, who says, ‘ nothing is exempted
 ‘ from the Prince’s inquisition, who hath received
 ‘ from God a common regiment, and *sovereignty over*
 ‘ *All men* ; and those things which concern God
 ‘ must be preserved uncorruptly by the sacred Pre-
 ‘ lates and Magistrates, *but most of all by our Ma-*
 ‘ *jesty*, who use not to neglect any divine cause, but
 ‘ labor by all means that our common-wealth (by the
 ‘ favor of the Great God and our Saviour towards
 ‘ men) may reap the fruit of that pureness and inte-
 ‘ grity, which Clerks, Monks and Bishops, from
 ‘ the highest to the lowest, shall shew forth in keep-
 ‘ ing the sacred Canons and *our laws* provided in that
 ‘ behalf : which constitutions by this Decree we
 ‘ strengthen afresh and ratifyⁱ.’ No wonder then
 that Mr. *Phillips* is so angry with this Emperour, and
 strengthened by the authority, as he represents him, of a
 Pagan Writer, *Procopius*, who at least professed him-
 self a Christian, tells us, that ‘ meddling in con-
 ‘ cerns of Religion was one of the capital faults in
 ‘ the

^h Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. x. c. 5.
 sit. 133.

ⁱ Novel. Con-

the character of *Justinian*.^k But to Mr. *Phillips* I hope the opinion of a Pope will be as good as that of an Heathen ; for *Adrian* IV. proposes this Emperour as a great example worthy the imitation of all Princes^l. This I acknowledge is only from Bishop *Taylor*, for I have never seen the Author he quotes : But the fact is certain, I mean the Supremacy of the Emperour over persons and causes Ecclesiastical, whatever *Procopius*, or *Adrian*, or *Phillips* may opine in the matter. As for the argument urged by *Pole*, that *doubtless the less is blessed of the Greater*, and therefore the Pope is above the King ; we thence might equally infer that every Priest in his Kingdom is above the King ; nay more, that every Priest may be above the Pope himself ; and this is expressly admitted in their laws, for according to *Panormitanus*, the Pope is bound to confession, and in that act the Priest is Greater than He*. But this temporary superiority sinks with the office.

To pass from the Empire to our own Kingdom : the *Britons* as we have already seen knew nothing of the Pope's Supremacy ; from the revival of Christianity here in the *Saxon* times, the state was governed upon the principles of the Feudal law, by which the officers of the state, and Proprietors of land sate together in the Courts of Judicature, and among these, Bishops and Abbots, as Barons, with Lay lords and Freemen judged in causes Spiritual and Civil.

^k P. 259. ^l Radevin. lib. i. c. 15. de gestis, Fred. I.

* Papa tenetur confiteri ; et in eo actu Sacerdos est major illo : Extra. de pœnit. et remiss.

vil. The *Norman* separated this judicature, assigning spiritual causes to the spiritual men, and Civil Causes to others. He subjected the clerical lands to civil imposts, from which the *Saxon* Kings had freed them, and which were grown to be near half of the whole Kingdom, or 28,000 Knights fees out of 62,000 : He quartered men upon the Monasteries ; and on the Pope's summoning him to do him homage for *England* as a Fief of the Holy See, he said, he held his crown only of God and his Sword, and would not make it dependant on any person living ; and forbad his Subjects to receive any orders from *Rome* without his leave. In succeeding times, the power or influences of the Pope prevaled or languished, as the weakness, or firmness, or necessity of the Princes, or the state of the times, furnished occasion. It was now, as the Author of the Church History observes, that the Church and the state began to struggle for power ; therefore all new claims of Church power must be suspected as usurpations. And now it was, as Mr. *Phillips* acknowledges, that
 ' *Gregory VII.* asserted a jurisdiction unknown to the
 ' first thousand years of the Christian Era, and un-
 ' dertook to depose a Sovereign ; and the Popes who
 ' have copied his example, have supposed its lawfulness and began by facts instead of proofs.---By this
 ' new system the Pope became a kind of Universal Monarch, superior to all others, even with
 ' respect to extent of temporal power ; for by acknowledging in him a right, however explained,
 ' to establish and depose Princes, we must fairly own
 ' him to be the only true Monarch.^m—This mistaken

ken principle, though opposed by the *Norman Conqueror*, yet opened a door to many encroachments, which were resisted by the three first *Edwards* and *Richard II.* But these Laws slept during the Civil commotions betwixt the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* in the succeeding reigns, which were not entirely suppressed till that of *Henry VIIIth.* *Henry*, when he found the Pope no longer of use to him for his political purposes, but domineering over him in consequence of those encroachments, had little more to do, than to revive the Laws of his Ancestors, in order to get rid of the Pope's usurpations; which restrained him from disposing of the *English* Bishopricks and preferments, from exercising jurisdiction here by his Legates, or of calling causes to him to *Rome* by Appeals. Or, if any other temporal privileges or powers had been granted to him voluntarily by the Kings Ancestors, or violently extorted from them, whenever that Will should cease, and a sufficient strength enable him to annul those grants, the Prince was as much justified in recovering his antient natural rights, as his Predecessors were in yielding them away. And this must be admitted upon Mr. *Phillips's* principles; that this usurpation in Temporals was from a want of knowledge, or an unwillingness to distinguish between the nature of spiritual and temporal jurisdiction. And that however it might then be maintained by the Pope and his Schoolmen, it is now ' far from making any part of the
 ' doctrine of the Catholick Church—the darkness of
 ' that undistinguishing age can hardly excuse *Gregory's*
 ' behaviour in this respect: much less can it be
 cited

‘ cited as a rule by which others are to act, or as a
 ‘ sanction for such proceedings.ⁿ’

He therefore condemns as an unjust and invalid act, the Pope’s pretending to deprive *Henry* of his kingdom, to absolve his subjects of their allegiance, and exhorting every body to rise up against him as the declared enemy of God and Man.^o How then can he excuse his Hero, who was the tool and instrument made use of by the Pope to publish this unjust, invalid, and unchristian Bull, and to excite the powerful Princes of *Europe* to put it into execution against his natural Prince? He attempts to do it by saying, ‘ whatever the Legate’s private opinion might
 ‘ have been of the Pope’s deposing power, in general; certain it is that he never instigated the
 ‘ Courts to which he was sent, to act in consequence
 ‘ of it. Of the truth of this he himself, in a most
 ‘ formal declaration to *Edw. VI.* whose Ministers
 ‘ could not have been ignorant of so recent a fact, is
 ‘ a voucher above exception.^p’ Here the Cardinal throws dust in King *Edward’s* eyes, and Mr. *Phillips* in those of his Readers. The Cardinal speaks of his first Embassy, before the Bull of deposing the King was published, that he only desired them by their persuasions and admonitions to endeavour at reclaiming a fallen Brother; and if that did not do, he owns he advised them to add threats; but went no further. Of his second Embassy he says nothing: when he was to persuade the Emperour and *French* King, no longer to suffer King *Henry* unpunished to rage against God and those Saints, which had been
 long

ⁿ P. 240.

^o P. 237.

^p P. 243.

long worshipped by the whole Kingdom. For their guide and leader, he was to acquaint them, that they had his Holiness, who had set them an example, which they were to follow, in publishing a Bull to depose *Henry* of his Crown, and absolve his subjects from their allegiance*.—Such was his Commission; on this errand he set out; and if he did not instigate the Courts to which he was sent, to act in consequence of it, it was because the Emperour would not give him leave to do it, but ‘received the
 ‘ Legate with coldness, and signified to him that the
 ‘ present juncture was unseasonable for the execution
 ‘ of what the Pope required; and advised him to go
 ‘ to *France*, and sound the dispositions of that
 ‘ Court.’ The Cardinal at last saw he was made
the Dupe of shuffling politicks, and suspecting the like insincerity at *France*, returned to lay before the Pope the whole state of this Embassy, as glorious as his last to *Flanders*.

Thus we have Mr. *Phillips* himself condemning this pretended Vicar of Christ, who, contrary to his Master’s will, and the practice of his Apostles, assumed to be the Umpire and Disposer of States and Kingdoms. How guilty then must appear the devoted instrument of Tyranny, employed to execute

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the

* P. 250.

* Demum persuadere suæ majestati ut omni curâ velit incumbere reductioni illius regni ad veram religionem, nec ulterius pati Regem illum impunè sævire in Deum, et in Sanctos, tamdiu à se et a toto Regno cultos. Ad quam rem habebit ducem auctoritatem Apostolicæ sedis, et S. D. N. qui ut monstraret viam in hac re, quam alii Principes sequantur, publicavit Bullam, &c. Instructio Cardin. Polo. *Quirini*, vol. ii. p. cclxxx.

the sentence of an unchristian Usurper, against his own natural Lord and Master, against his oath of fidelity and allegiance, under the highest personal obligations that ever Subject had to a King, and this through many years continuance, even after repeted offences? Is this *a Spectacle, the most worthy the Supreme Being of any beneath the Seats in Bliss?* But Mr. *Phillips* has the hardiness, in spite of his own concessions, to justify both the Usurper and his Minister: ‘the principles on which the Pope proceeded, says he, were drawn from that universal superintendence, which obliged him to watch over the spiritual welfare of each part of the Church, and gave him a *Right to use such means as are proper to effect it.*’ Such are the arts of a Popish Biographer; who to bespeak favor, least his loyalty should be impeached, declares, that the Pope’s power to depose Princes is an usurped jurisdiction, not given by Christ, that the doctrine is uncatholick, and no Professor would be allowed to maintain it: yet scruples not to acknowledge, that the Pope’s universal superintendence, watching over the spiritual welfare of each part of the Church, gives him a Right to use such means as he thinks proper to effect it; so that deposing of Kings, and disposing of States and Kingdoms become lawful, whenever judged necessary. Of what value or significance are such concessions and protestations? We can neither *argue*, nor *live*, securely upon them. Whether this Champion has permission from his Superiors, in order to deceive us, to say, that *the power of deposing Princes was rather supposed by some Popes than proved*; and that

this

this opinion is no part of the doctrine of the Catholic Church: or whether it proceeded from his own adventurous wit, I cannot say. If the latter, and if he means what he says, let him beware of heresy in the judgment of his Church; for as such *Bellarmino* censures his opinion*, and *Baronius* calls it the *heresy of Politicians*†. Yet, as he elsewhere explains this concession away, and by allowing the Pope an universal superintendence, which gives him *a Right to use such means as are proper*, his opinion may be ‘the universal one of all Catholics, that the Pope as Pope has not, *directly and immediately*, any temporal power, only a spiritual: but by virtue of his spiritual power he has, at least *indirectly*, some power in temporals, and that too *superior to any one’s else*†.’ So that the Gentleman has only endeavoured to impose upon us: and must be either an Heretick in the Church of *Rome*, or a Rebel to the King of *Great Britain*.

So apt are men from the power of excommunicating Princes to infer a power of deposing them! Whence one would be apt to suspect that Popes or Bishops have not a power of excommunicating Prin-

K 2

ces;

* Ann. 1073, §. 13.

* *Altera non tam sententia quam hæresis, Pontificem ut Pontificem ex jure divino nullam habere potestatem, nec posse ullo modo imperare Principibus sæcularibus, nedum eos regnis et principatû privare. Bellarm. v. 1.*

† *Sententia media, et Catholicorum communis, Pontificem ut Pontificem non habere directè et immediatè ullam temporalem potestatem, sed solum spiritualem; tamen ratione Spiritualis habere saltem indirectè potestatem quandam, eamq; summam in temporalibus. Bellarm. v. 1.*

ces. This indeed Mr. *Phillips* will by no means admit : ‘ If the (Pope’s) sentence extended no further
 ‘ (than to excommunication) its justice and vali-
 ‘ dity could never have been called in question.’ Yet he knows and confesses that it was called in question in the case of *Henry IV.* the Emperour ; and that when he says, *Gregory VII.* was the first who asserted a jurisdiction, unknown to the first thousand years of the Christian Era, and undertook to depose a Sovereign, he might have added that the same busy meddling Pope was the first that ever excommunicated a Christian Prince. As we are informed by *Otho* of *Frisingen**, *Godfrey* of *Viterbo*, and *Onuphrius*.
 ‘ But the Pope had no difficulty to demonstrate that
 ‘ the power of loosing and binding was granted to
 ‘ the Church without any restriction “ with respect
 to Princes. And that ‘ it is the triumph of Christi-
 ‘ anity, that one of the greatest Emperours the
 ‘ World ever obeyed, submitted to the censure of the
 ‘ Church.---Nay it seems more than barely proba-
 ‘ ble, that whilest *Rome* was yet Pagan, one of her
 ‘ Sovereigns gave the like instance of the Gospel
 ‘ Spirit, which in a novice in the School of Christ,
 ‘ as *Philip* was, is still more admirable, than the ex-
 ‘ ample of *Theodosius*.^w’ The case of *Philip* I shall pass over, as of doubtful credit at the best ; and, if admitted, it will furnish no instance of excommunication. Neither will the well known story of *Theo-*
dosius

* P. 237.

■ P. 239.

w P. 238.

* Legō et relego Romanorum Regum & Imperatorum gesta, et nusquam invenio quenquam ante hunc à Romano Pontifice excommunicatum, vel regno privatum. *Otho. Frising. Chron. lib vi. cap. 35.*

dosius prove it better. They were only exclusions from the Prayers and Sacraments of the Church voluntarily submitted to on their parts; nor were these exclusions made by the Pope in either case, but by the Dioceſan of the place; who, doubtleſs, has a power from Chriſt by virtue of his office to reject from a participation of the Sacraments the impenitent, without reſpect of perſons: but excommunication conſiſts of two more parts, a prohibition of the faithful from converſing or communicating with the perſon excommunicated; and ſome temporal inconveniences and puniſhments: the latter, being only by permiſſion of the Prince, it is abſurd to think of exerciſing againſt him: And the other, if it is in the power of the Dioceſan, muſt put it in the Dioceſan's power to depoſe his Prince; for, if he can oblige his Subjects not to ſerve or obey him, (which they cannot do if they muſt have no communication with him,) a Prince, who can have no ſervice or obedience paid him, is effectually depoſed. Therefore the doctrine before the time of *Gregory VII.* even upon the teſtimony of that very *St. Ambroſe*, who is (faſely) repreſented as excommunicating *Theodoſius*, was, that Princes privileged by their Empire, are not by any laws called to penance*. To the greater excommunication indeed, Princes as well as others are ſubject: but then the effects are purely ſpiritual; and cannot diſcharge the natural and civil obligations of a Child to his Parent, or a Subject to his Sovereign. *Let him be unto thee as an Heathen*, not only leaves us at liberty, if he be our Prince, but obliges us, to obey him and

K 3

pray

* Neque enim ullis ad pœnam vocantur legibus, tuti imperii poteſtate. In *Pſalm li. v. 4.*

pray for him. Still more unchristian and ineffectual was this sentence, as it was issued in revenge, because the King confined the Bishop of *Rome* according to the old Canons to his own district, and appointed the Bishop of his Province, according to the same Canons, to determine cases in the places where they rose.

For the Cardinal his Biographer has another excuse ; ‘ he had been declared a Traytor for causes, ‘ which in their nature, do not seem to come under ‘ the Article of Treason^x—that is, he had refused to come home when commanded by the King ; he fled in direct disobedience to a positive command to the King’s enemy ; he engaged in Embassies to disturb the King’s peace ; he solicited a bank for the encouragement and support of Rebels in opposition to the Laws enacted by the King, Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled in Parliament ; in consequence of which treasonable practices he was declared a Traytor, and a price set upon his head. How far that price might influence Russians to attempt his life, or *Pole*’s apprehensions might magnify the danger, I cannot say ; neither is improbable. ‘ He had the precedent of the Barons, who called ‘ over the Dauphin of *France*, to free them from the ‘ frantick Tyranny of King *John*.’—But *Pole*’s opposition was against both the King and his Barons too, the undoubted Supreme Power in the Kingdom. He had also ‘ the precedent which happened in his own times, of *Henry VII.* who ‘ though an alien to the Crown, was chosen by the ‘ unanimous consent of the nation to rescue them ‘ from

^x P. 242.

^y P. Ibid.

‘ from the oppression of *Richard III.*’—If this, and
 ‘ the near alliance he had to the crown,’ which he
 presently after adds, were among his motives, Mr.
Phillips acknowledges, what I contend for, that not
religious, but *political* and *ambitious* views, drove him
 so violently from his original esteem for the King,
 which nearness of blood had implanted, and un-
 common obligations should have encreased. Among
 many other reasons, as wild and unjustifiable as these,
 he adds ‘ the undeserved ruin in which *Henry*, about
 ‘ this time, involved his family, and the other ag-
 ‘ gravations, with which his personal wrongs were
 ‘ attended, seem to have left him more at large as to
 ‘ the expedients, which were to rescue his Country
 ‘ from such oppressions.^z’—At the time he mentions,
 his family were safe and unmolested; and conse-
 quently the subsequent punishment that fell upon
 them could be no motive to transactions in which he
 had engaged before. And how little they were able
 to influence him appears in his extraordinary behavi-
 our on the news he *afterwards* received of the con-
 demnation of most of his family, when ‘ he dis-
 ‘ coursed on his misfortunes, as if he had no perso-
 ‘ nal interest in them, and seemed only concerned
 ‘ for the publick calamity.^a’ And again, when he
 heard of the execution of his Mother, the news of
 which met him in his retirement together with a
 packet of other dispatches; these he appears to have
 read over, as his Secretary *Beccatelli* relates, who was
 then alone with him, with as much indifference as
 we should now the papers of the day: He delivered
 them to his Secretary ‘ as his custom was, to re-

K 4

‘ turn

^z P. 243.^a P. 249.

‘ turn the answers. In putting them together, *Bee-*
 ‘ *catelli* perceived one to be in *English*, and told him,
 ‘ he need not take that as he did not understand the
 ‘ language. To which the Cardinal coolly replied,
 ‘ without the least emotion, I could wish you did,
 ‘ that you might read the good news it contains ;
 ‘ and on the Secretary’s replying, I hope your Ex-
 ‘ cellence will make me partaker of it : Hitherto,
 ‘ says he, I have thought myself indebted to the di-
 ‘ vine goodness for having received my birth from
 ‘ one of the most noble and virtuous Women in *Eng-*
 ‘ *land* ; but, from henceforward, my obligation will be
 ‘ much greater, as I understand that I am now the Son
 ‘ of a Martyr.^b’ Then relating the tragical account
 he had received of his Mother’s being beheaded, with
 reflections on the King that were false* : the Secretary,
 although a stranger, was seized with surprise and
 horror at the relation ; but the Cardinal, her Son,
 who must be conscious that he had been the occasion
 of her death, whose earnest intreaties to pity her age
 and not expose her to ruin by his rash proceedings he
 had rejected, read the account of her death without
 any discernable emotion : though the account was
 such, that his own relation of it shocked his Se-
 cretary, and hurts me in the reading even at this
 distance of time ; to see, in imagination, that grey
 head of seventy, gashed and mangled by the irregu-
 lar

^b P. 133.

* Namely, that he caused her to be beheaded *for her*
Constancy in the Catholick faith, whereas she died for en-
 couraging Rebels ; and that she was *the nearest to him in*
blood, which the pedigree will shew to be false, the Earl
 of *Devonshire’s* Son being before her. What credit then
 is to be given to *Pole*, when his evidence is unsupport-
 ed ?

lar strokes of the axe, to which her indiscretion refused to submit: all this his Roman Apathy bore without any sensible concern, with this cool reflection to his Secretary, ‘ be of good courage, we have now one Patron more added to those we already had in Heaven.’ The Biographer then contrasts the excessive grief of *Tully* on the death of his daughter with this illustrious insensibility of *Pole*; and censures, as it justly deserves, the impiety of the former, in changing her into a Goddess, and giving divine honors to her, addressing a prayer to her in that quality. But blameable as the Roman Consul was in both respects, the comparisons does no honor to the Roman Cardinal: The Pagan *felt* at least; the Christian was without natural affection: and the impiety of adding one Patron more to those they already had in Heaven was alike in both. Yet this Man, so much above the feelings of nature, that he refused a tear to the memory of his Mother, whose venerable head his own obstinacy had brought to the axe, though her death was attended with uncommon circumstances of horror, from her own ill-judged renitency; and who, on the condemnation of her and his Brother, behaved with that fortitude, that he discoursed on his misfortunes as if he had no personal interest in them, yet when called by the Pope to *Rome*, from an agreeable recess with his friend *Sadolet* at *Carpentras*, he writes to *Contareni* to intercede with his Holiness that he may not be forced to attend the Celebrities at *Rome*, at a time when the calamities of his friends had so sunk his spirits that he could be of no use to any body, and was a burthen

to

to himself. He observes, it was usual to allow some cessation from publick business to those who had lost either a Parent, a Wife, or a Child ; with how much more reason might he, who had lost, almost in the same instant, all who were dearest to him, claim this exemption ? nay, he says, it would be indecent in him not to claim it ; even if he was to challenge an exemption for the rest of his life, he thinks the calamities of his family and country would justify him, or rather make it become his duty to give himself up entirely to prayers and tears^d. Either his insensibility at one time, or his excess of sorrow at another, which disqualified him for business, and would not permit him to go to *Rome* when called by the Pope, was affected : The first was in his closet, as it were behind the scenes ; the latter when he came upon the stage, excusing himself to the Pope ; it was here therefore, most likely, that he wore the mask. On a second summons he pulls it off and speaks undisguisedly to his Friend *Contareni*, discovering that his true reason for not coming to *Rome* was his terrible apprehensions of danger from Sir *Thomas Wyatt*, who had undertaken to get him dispatched in *Rome*, or its environs. He therefore begs and earnestly intreats, if it may so please his Holiness, to whose service he devotes his whole life, that he may not be obliged (especially as he was publicly expected) to come to the very slaughter house that his Enemy had destined for him*. Here again
he

^d Ep. Pol. vol. ii. Ep. 80.

* Postulo et flagito, si ita tamen ejus Sanctitati videatur, cujus semper obedientiæ vitam concesserim, ne mihi
neceſſe

he endeavours to cover his pusillanimity by declaring, if it may be to God's glory, he cares not how soon he is called out of the world. But he is very solicitous to keep out of harms way.

§. 16. *His Intimates at Viterbo.* His government at *Viterbo* I am unacquainted with, and therefore acquiesce in Mr. *Phillips's* account, and join with him in applauding his generosity to the Niece of the Marchioness of *Pescara*: and I wish we had been able to discern that mildness and tenderness to those whom the Cardinal and Mr. *Phillips* are inclined to call Hereticks, when he came to be *the most conspicuous Personage as a Statesman* in the reign of *Philip* and *Mary*. And that he had not dipped his hands so deep in the blood of his Countrymen, that his cruelties in *England* might atone for his mercies at *Viterbo*.

But if we enquire into his intimacies we shall see reason to account for his gentleness to Protestants at *Viterbo*, from his favorable opinion of their doctrines, which drew him under such suspicions as made him think it necessary to fly to the other extreme, in *England*, in order the more effectually to wipe them off.

The seeds of affection for them were early planted from a similitude of manners which united him to those who could not approve the hypocrisy and corruptions of the Church. This drew on a mutual regard betwixt him and *Erasmus*, and inclined the latter to recommend him to the acquaintance

neceffe fit tam citò (maximè cum adventus meus Romæ expectetur) ad locum prædæ ab inimico et infidiatore destinatum venire. Ibid. Ep. 83.

tance of *John à Lasco* : this led *Pole* to single out *M. A. Flaminius*, at his first studying at *Padua*, where *Flaminius* was eminent for poetry, eloquence, and philosophy. At the same time *Peter Martyr* studied at *Padua* with great reputation, when, it is probable, *Pole's* known acquaintance with him commenced. Of these four, *Erasmus* is represented as laying the eggs which *Luther* hatched ; *Peter Martyr* and *John à Lasco* were professedly Protestants ; and *Flaminius*, if Mr. *Phillips* will give us leave to credit a Pope more than himself, in spite of *Pole's* pretended conversion of him, lived a secret favorer of them, and died in their faith*.

The same disposition led *Pole* to the acquaintance of *Contareni*, *Sadolet*, and *Bembo* ; all suspected of inclining to the Protestant Doctrines in some points : but being *Italians*, they were great Advocates for the power of the Pope, to whom, as Metropolitan of *Rome*, they owed obedience. From an early piety *Pole* was disposed to wish for a Reformation ; but from his intimacy with them, sought it only under the superintendence of the Bishop of *Rome* : more especially when he found means, through their influence, to engage the power of the Pope to second his private views in bringing *Henry* to terms. Even at the time that he entered into the Pope's service he was

* Paulum, tunc Cardinalem Caraffam, morienti (*Flaminio*) adstitisse, et cum de *Flaminii*, quem alioqui diligebat, fide dubitasset—*Tbuan.* Hist. lib. viii. ad ann. 1551.--- Quid de eo senserit *Paulus IV.* patet ex catalogo hæreticorum et librorum prohibitorum ejus auspiciis *Romæ* anno 1559 conflato editoq;---In eo enim damnantur, *M. A. Flaminii* paraphrases et Comment. in *Psalmos* item literæ et carmina omnia. *Schelhorne Amænit. Hist. Eccles.* vol. ii. p. 38.

was so much a Reformer, as to concur with his Colleagues in censuring the Papal Tyranny, and the lucrative discipline of the Church of *Rome*. The very points which had been long and loudly complained of by the Protestants, who, unable to obtain any redress, found themselves obliged to come out of *Babylon*, and reject her imposed yoke that they might be at liberty to reform those abuses. Had *Pole* at that time been at liberty ; had the Princess *Mary* died with her Mother, before he sent his book to the King, or received the Hat of his Holiness as a retaining fee, there appears nothing in the disposition of *Pole*, but that he might have returned to *England*, and entered into all the measures of his Prince ; and *Starky's* Letter confirms this opinion, as does also the account prefixed by *Vergerius* to the *Treatise de Unitate Ecclesiasticâ*, where it is said, that when *Pole* was at *Ausburgh*, in *Germany*, he was lodged in the *Lutheran* Pastor's House, to whom he professed, that he did very well allow and agree unto all their Doctrine ; and that he would declare no less, if there were any *Convocations* or *Common Councils* holden : but temporal considerations drew him, with great inconsistency, to strengthen that tyranny, which he acknowledged to be oppressive ; and to confirm the discipline, of which he complained as contrary to the Gospel.

From this time he was, with respect to the Supremacy, a violent Papalin ; but still sensible of other dangerous errors in that Church. An instance of this conviction appears, about this time, in his joining with the Cardinals *Gonzaga*, *Contareni*, *Fregosi*, and *Bembo*, in an application to the Pope, to take off the silence which the *Neapolitans* had imposed on
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Martyr not to preach, because he had interpreted the capital Text in *St. Paul*, on which they build their Purgatory fire, in another sense.^e The above mentioned *Fregose*, Archbishop of *Salernum*, was one of *Pole's* Collegues in the Counfel given to *Paul III.* and was (greatly against his will) created a Cardinal. He was so much suspected by the Pope of favoring the Protestant cause, that it was a common report, that he was taken off by poyson for that reason ^f.

Soon after, *Pole* entered on his government: which leads us to take a view of his *Viterbo* Society. In the foremost degree of intimacy we find *M. A. Flaminius* before mentioned, who had been instructed in the doctrines of the Protestants by *Valdes* the Spaniard. Mr. *Phillips* relates that ‘ he had imbibed
‘ at *Naples* the tenets of *Valdes*, with whom he had
‘ contracted a dangerous intimacy, and was returned
‘ to *Rome* a profelyte to his impious system; and that
‘ Cardinal *Pole* invited him to pass some time at *Vi-*
‘ *terbo*, where he disposed him gradually to return
‘ to the Catholick Doctrine, to which he, ever af-
‘ ter, stedfastly adhered.^g’ *Sands* indeed in his *Bi-*
blioth. Antitrinit. claims *Valdes* as a Socinian; but there is no evidence of it, that I know of. His friend *Bernard Ochin* was one doubtless; but did not discover any thing of it till above twenty years after the death of *Valdes*: So that *Lutheranism* was the impious system in which *Valdes* instructed *Flaminius*. That *Pole* brought him back to the Catholick Doctrine, to which he ever after stedfastly adhered, appears not to be true on the testimony of Pope *Paul IV.* who, while

^e Simleri vit. Pet. Martyris, p. 8, 10. ^f Schelh.
Amænit. Hist. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 91. Not. m. ^g P.
300.

while Cardinal, in the days of his severer life, loved *Flaminius*, and assisted him with kind offices on his death bed in *Pole's* palace at *Viterbo*; but suspected then that he died not in the faith of the Church of *Rome*. Of which he grew more and more satisfied, insomuch that, being Pope; he condemned his books to the flames; a sentence which he said the Author himself deserved; and he was with difficulty prevailed upon not to dig up his bones, and burn them*.

Peter Carneseca, formerly in the family of *Clement VII.* lived in strict friendship with *Flaminius* at *Viterbo*, by whom, as well as by *Valdes* and *Ochin* he had been instructed at *Naples* in the purer religion, and died a Martyr to it by the Inquisition at *Rome* in 1567: part of the charge against him was, for conversing familiarly with the Sectaries in *Germany*; and in *Italy* with *Victoria*, Marchioness of *Pescara*, that celebrated Lady, who was so eminent a part of the *Viterbo* Society, and with *Julia Gonzaga*; both of them of distinguished characters, and both suspected of heretical pravity†.

Connected

* Cum anno 1559 Paulus IV. Pont. Rom. celebraret in suo cubiculo una cum sex duntaxat inquisitoribus concilium clandestinum, quod sub nomine Catalogi Hæreticorum furens in Lutheranos immisit, hunc quoque librum Psalmorum Flamini inter scripta hæretica expressè retulit, dignumq; arrogantissimè judicavit, qui cum auctore sancto viro flammis in perpetuum aboleatur,—Paulum verò IV. tam fuisse piis etiam Flamini manibus infestum, refert Joachimus Camerarius, ut consilium cœperit, ejus pridem demortui corpus de busto eruendi, atq; in profluentem projiciendi. Schelh. Amæn. Hist. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 40, 41.

† Qui (Carnesecius) Romam productus, accusante cum Achille Statio, Lusitano, homine non illiterato, sed prostituta

Connected with them was *Galeas Caracciolus*, who for the sake of religion retired to *Geneva*, and there died. *Flaminius*, in a Letter which he wrote to him from *Viterbo*, *Feb. 14, 1543*, tells him, that the Legate (*Pole*) loved him as his most dear Brother in Christ, and would thankfully embrace every opportunity, that Providence should supply him with, to testify by facts the affection he had for him†.

Under like suspicion of heresy fell his friend Cardinal *Morone*; against whom Articles were exhibited, of which the 18th was, that he had industriously distributed a book, entitled *The Benefit of Christ*, recommending it to an heretical Bookseller, to sell the Copies to as many as he could, and to give others away to the poorer sort, charging them to his account. Of which Tract, *Pole* himself, among others, was reputed to be the Author. He certainly defended and encouraged the book; as also did his closely connected friends *Flaminius*, *Priuli*, and other Disciples of his†.

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prostitutæ fidei, qui Carnesechio ab epistolis fuerat; convictusq; quod cum sectariis in Germaniâ, et in Italiâ cum Victoriâ Columnâ, Marchionis Piscarii viduâ, et Juliâ Gonzagâ, lectissimis alioqui fæminis, de pravitate sectariâ suspectis, amicitiam coluisset, tandem ad ignem damnatus est. Thuanus, ad ann. 1566.

† Reverendissimus Legatus (Polus) te amat tanquam dilectissimum fratrem in Christo, et gratissima ei est quævis occasio quæ offeratur divinitus ad declarandum re ipsâ amorem suum. Flam. Epist. ad Gul. Caracciolum in Schelh. Amæn. Hist. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 132.

† Imò dicam amplius Reginaldum Polum istius Moroni amicum summum, existimari ejus libri autorem, aut bonam partem in eo habere; saltem certum est illum defendisse et promovisse cum suis Flaminiis, suis Priulis, aliisq; alumnis. Schelhorne Amæn. Hist. Eccles. tom. i. p. 156.

The true Author of that Book *Schelhorne* believes to have been another intimate acquaintance of *Pole's*, *Aonius Palearius*, who suffered at *Rome* under the Pontificate of *Pius V.* for calling off Men's confidence from the merit of their own works to place it on a faith in the merits of Christ. ^h

Immanuel Tremellius was a known Protestant, converted from Judaism to embrace Christianity in *Pole's* Palace at *Viterbo*, where he was baptized, the Cardinal and *Flaminius* being his Godfathers.

Many others there were, either professed or suspected Protestants of his Society and familiarity; some denied Transubstantiation, some believed it; some renounced the Pope, others adhered to him; some bravely professed and died for the truth; some lived in exile for it; others dissembled the doctrines they believed, to keep their lives and their honors: but all agreed in this point, that the security built on the merit of our own works, especially such painted works as the *Roman* Church built upon, was a dangerous security; and that our Justification was owing solely to the merits and satisfaction of Christ, apprehended by faith, on the conditions by him required. As to the Pope's Supremacy, *Pole* was too much interested in it, to doubt of it. And his address kept many from that open profession which they were inclined to make: of which *Vergerius*, who knew him and his communications, gives us the following relation; *Pole* perswaded many of those concealed Protestants, that they might satisfy themselves with their secret knowledge, and not only bear with, but consent to the errors and abuses of the Church, ex-

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pecting

^h Amæn. Hist. Eccles. tom. i. p. 155, 159.

pecting till God should remove them by such methods as should seem fittest to him. Such counsel, *Vergerius* observes, suited those who were for following Christ, but without his Cross: accordingly *Pole* doubted not to assert, that the pure doctrine might be professed in silence, dissimulation, and flight. And when the zeal and fervor of some could not be bridled by such restraints, some of his closest adherents would declare, that *Pole* only waited for a seasonable opportunity to discover openly the secrets of his heart. By which means many were persuaded, that he would, some time or other, ingenuously profess the truth before the Pope himself, and the whole City of *Rome**.

After the deaths of *Contareni*, *Fregose*, *Sadolet*, *Bembo*, *Flaminius*, the Countess of *Pescara*, and others

* Quiq; (Polus) agnoscebat, vel saltem agnoscere se simulabat, hominem per solam fidem in Christum justificari, idq; cum multis aliis, quos in domum suam receperat,---plures docebat.---Quânam autem existimatione ac auctoritate persuadere aliis contendebat, hominem secretâ illâ cognitione acquiescere debere, nec rationem ipsi errorum et abusu ecclesiæ habendam? imò docebat, eos esse tolerandos, ac nostrum iis consensum haud denegendum, expectandumq; donec illos Deus iis, quæ maximè idoneæ fuerint visæ, occasionibus sublatum iverit. Probé autem nostis, hujusmodi disciplinam iis arrisisse, qui Christum sine cruce desiderant.---Polus tamen puram doctrinam proferri tacendo; dissimulando, et fugiendo potuisse asserere non dubitavit. Sed aliquid adhuc pulchrius audite. Si forte quis animi fervidioris has cohibitiones et refrenationes gravitèr ferret, responderunt cultores ejus studiosissimi, idoneum illum expectare tempus, et aliquando arcana cordis in propatulum prolaturum: quo factum est, ut nonnulli sibi persuaderent, eum veritatem aliquando coram Pontifice et universâ urbe Romanâ candidè professurum. Schelh. Amænit. Hist. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 20, 21.

others, he lost those who might have strengthened him in the opinions of the Reformed ; and also as many Witnesses, who might have shamed and restrained him from deserting to the old corruptions. At the same time finding himself strongly suspected of *Lutheranism*, and perhaps dreading the fate of Cardinal *Fregose*, and others, he endeavoured to wash away the suspicion of heresy from himself in *England*, by the streams of protestant blood which he shed here in great plenty.

§. 17. *A long delayed Council was called at Trent : which continued, with its intervals of prorogation, to the year 1564¹. As Cardinal Pole had at the*

beginning a respectable part in it, as third Legate in the year 1542, and as first Legate in 1545, his Biographer has thought it proper to his design, though not to his strict rules of Biography laid down in the Preface, to break our attention, which should be collected and fixed on its Subject, with a long detail of a transaction, in which his Hero ceased to be concerned many years before his death ; and which continued many years after it. As he thought it of importance to his scheme to give us this long detail, I cannot refuse to the Reader my own trouble in examining, whether he has done justice, or not, in his representation.

He acknowledges the great want of a Reformation in the *Head and Members* of the Church, complained of from the days of *St. Bernard* in the twelfth Cen-

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tury and *Durandus* in the next, to the time of the Council of *Trent*. In saying *Durandus* prepared matters to be discussed in the Council of *Vienna*, we will suppose the error rather to belong to his Printer in the private press at *Oxford*, than to himself; it should be *Vienne* in *France*. But Mr. *Phillips* observes, none ‘ ever entertained a thought of changing a single article of her Faith or abolishing any part of her worship : and that they defended the authority of her Pastors, and particularly of her chief Bishop.^k’ The temporal tyranny of this chief Bishop, for the purposes of rapine and plunder ; and his spiritual prostitution in the marketings of Grace, teaching that it might be purchased for money, were abundantly complained of during this interval. Even *Bernard* himself in a Letter to the Pope opposes his temporal jurisdiction*. In the very year that *Luther* began to publish his Theses against Indulgences, *Ulric Hutten*, in a Preface which he wrote to *Leo X.* inveighs bitterly against them, for exposing the Grace of God to sale, for fixing rates for the purchase of the remission of Sins, and for finding out a method of turning the torments of Hell to their own filthy lucre : becoming wolves instead of shepherds to their flocks†. It is true, he afterwards

^k P. 320.

* *Lego Apostolos judicandos sedisse, judicantes non lego...quid falcem vestram in alienam messem extendis ? Bern. de considerat. ad Eugen. Lib. r. c. 6.*

† *Hi fuerunt, qui in minimo arreptâ occasione, ad immensum progressi sunt diripiendi licentiâ, qui gratias venum exposuerunt...qui in peccatorum remissione pretium statuerunt, et in pænis inferorum invenerunt sibi lucrum...*

wards joined *Luther* : but *Guiccardine* was of their own Communion, who testifies, that in that depraved age, a Pope obtained the character of an honest man, if he was not a greater villain than the rest of the world†. And for the Century preceding, Mr. *Philips* owns ‘ it had the misfortune to see most, (he had ‘ no occasion to soften it to several¹) of the Popes ‘ during that period altogether unworthy the Supreme place they held.^m *Bellarmino* himself tells us, that for some years before *Luther*’s heresie began, there was little or no strictness in the Ecclesiastical Courts, no discipline for the regulation of manners, no skill in the Scriptures, no reverence in divine worship, in short scarce any religion at all‡. No wonder then, if serious Christians wished for a reformation, and if several in several places attempted it, as far as they could.

Among the latter, *Luther*, from his uncommon fortitude, was the most remarkable. On him there-

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¹ See Errata in vol. ii.

^m P. 322.

crum...non pastores fuerunt illi, inquam, sed Lupi. *Ulr. Hutteni* Præfatio, præmissa libello, quo *Laur. Vallæ* de donatione *Constantini* declamationem refellit. Decemb. 1, 1517.

† In nostris depravatis moribus, tunc in Pontifice probitas laudatur, quum cæterorum hominum nequitiam non excedit, *Histor. Lib. xvi.*

‡ Annis aliquot, antequam *Lutherana* et *Calvinistica* hæresis oriretur, nulla ferme erat, ut ii testantur, qui etiam tunc vivebant, nulla inquam prope erat in judiciis Ecclesiasticis severitas, nulla in moribus disciplina, nulla in sacris literis eruditio, nulla in rebus divinis reverentia, nulla propemodum jam erat Religio. In Concione xxviii. die Dominicâ *Lætere Opp. T. vi. Col. 296. edit. Colon. 1617.*

fore Mr. *Phillips* fixes, and is very liberal indeed in reproaching him, whenever he comes in his way. When he first introduces him he tells us, ‘ The ‘ Tenets he advanced had not been known in any ‘ prior age of the Christian Church ; or if ever they ‘ were set on foot, had never failed of being con- ‘ demned as repugnant to what antiquity had always ‘ held.ⁿ’ I shall pass over this seeming inaccuracy, as if any prior ages could condemn Tenets which were not known to them ; because I find it is a mode of expression borrowed from the eloquent *Reginald* himself, who, in his tract *de Unitate Ecclesiastica*, acquaints the King, that the opinion (of the Regal Supremacy,) was either first devised by the English, and never heard of before ; or, if it ever was broached (which he thinks it never was) it was presently condemned together with its Author by the general consent of every good man*. Now how he came to be so sure that every good man had condemned an opinion of which he is persuaded that good man never heard, appears somewhat strange. If we examine these Tenets themselves as published in *Luther’s* first ninety-five Propositions, I presume they were neither unknown, nor repugnant to some prior ages of Christianity ; Mr. *Phillips* acknowledges they were against the scandalous traffick of Indulgences, granted

ⁿ P. 25.

* Quæ (sententia) vel nunc primum excogitata à vobis, nova omnium auribus accidit ; vel si quando à quopiam prolata est (quod equidem vix puto) sed ut fuerit prolata, statim optimi cujusque consensu explosa, et cum authore suo damnata. De Unitate Eccles. lib. i. vol. 12. à tergo.

ed by the Pope to enrich his Treasury. ‘ He began
 ‘ by blaming the abuse, and then proceeded to con-
 ‘ demn the thing.’ He maintained that the Pope,
 by his Indulgences, could release no punishments
 but what he inflicted : or that they could only be a
 relaxation of penalties inflicted by the Church : that,
 the Dead being not subject to Canonical Penances,
 Indulgences could affect only the Living, the Dead
 in Purgatory could not be delivered thereby. Con-
 trary to the Doctrine of *Tetzelius*, that the Souls in
 purgatory flew to heaven the very instant the money,
 paid for their deliverance, chinked in the chest† :
 That with respect to the Living, Indulgences cannot
 remit the least venial Sin in respect of the guilt : that
 contrition can procure remission of the fault without
 Indulgences, but Indulgences without Contrition
 cannot : that Christians are to be exhorted not to
 prefer them before good works, but to seek pardon of
 their sins, by the pains and labor of penance, ra-
 ther than to discharge them without reason^p. The
 doctrines, on which the new Indulgences were built,
Sylvester Prierias himself admits are not discovered to
 us by the Scripture, but by the authority of the
 Church of *Rome* and its Pontiffs*. So that by the
 confession of the Romanists themselves, this doctrine

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was

° P. 324.

° See Dupin. 16 Cent.

† Quod statim ut jactus nummus in cistam tinnive-
 rit, anima in cœlum evolet. Which *Sylvester de Prierio*
 calls *meram ac catholicam veritatem*. *Ipius Dialog.* apud
Loescherum, p. 23.

* Eas autoritate scripturæ nobis non innotuisse, sed
 autoritate Ecclesiæ Romanæ, Romanorumq; Pontifi-
 cum. *Ip. Dialog.* ap. *Loeschar.* p. 33. ex *Gerdesio*,
 vol. i. p. 208.

was *new* at least, if not *false*; it being not taught in scripture, nor known before the days of *Urban IV.* that the guilt of sin might be remitted for money. So that *the absolute singleness of the Christian System*^a had admitted some change at *Rome*, since the days of *Procopius*. And the reply of Cardinal *Cusanus* to the *Bohemians*, admits such changes to happen, while he justifies them; ‘ that word of God is best, which
 ‘ is least agreeable to Scripture: nay, the Scriptures
 ‘ themselves are to be changed by a commodious
 ‘ interpretation according to the practice of the
 ‘ Church: for the Church changing her decrees,
 ‘ the will of God must be changed too†. Thus we see *Luther* had *truth* on his side when he censured such unscriptural doctrines; and *reason* in guarding against the fatal security which might arise to the Purchasers of such delusive Indulgences. This is acknowledged by the grave and learned of the Romanists themselves, *Surius* says, ‘ in the beginning, *Luther* appeared to most grave and learned men not to have
 ‘ been moved by any blameable zeal; and to have
 ‘ intended nothing else but the Reformation of the
 ‘ Church, whose scandalous abuses all good men
 ‘ did not a little resent*.’ And *Caspar Ulenberg* of the

^a P. 260.

† Tantò dignius verbum Dei tradi, quantò ab omni scripturâ remotius. Explicandam Scripturam esse juxta currentem Ecclesiæ ritum, quâ sententiam mutante, Dei etiam judicium mutetur. Card. Cusan, Ep. vii. ad Bohemos. ex Gerdesio, vol. i. p. 32.

* In ipsis hujus tragediæ initiis visus est Lutherus etiam plerisq; viris gravibus et eruditis non pessimo zelo moveri, planèq; nihil spectare aliud, quam Ecclesiæ Reformationem.

the same Communion ‘freely confesses, which (he
 ‘says) must be confessed whether they will or no,
 ‘that *Luther* did not reprehend without reason the
 ‘vices of those who should have taken the care of
 ‘souls; for many of them sought not the sheep,
 ‘but the fleece; not the flock, but the fat of the
 ‘flock†.

But Mr. *Phillips*, swimming with the common
 stream of the later Writers in his Church, which
 has also drawn with them many Protestants, too im-
 plicitly giving credit to them, informs us, that ‘this
 ‘publication of Indulgences had occasioned a warm
 ‘dispute between the *Austin* and *Dominican* Friars.
 ‘The former, who had hitherto been in possession
 ‘of the commission, were piqued that the *Domini-*
 ‘*cans* should, on this occasion, be preferred to them;
 ‘and *John Staupitz*, their Vicar General, ordered
 ‘*Martin Luther*, a Monk of the Order, to preach
 ‘in opposition to their Rivals.’ And thus without
 a more diligent inquiry it had appeared to me^s: but
 on a more careful examination this common report
 is found to be quite contrary to truth. The first
 broacher of this scandal was *Cochlæus*, in his Com-
 mentaries on *Luther’s* Actions and Writings from
 the

* P. 324. * Life of Bp. *Ridley*, p. 43.

Reformationem, cujus quidam deformes abusus non pa-
 rum malè habebant bonos omnes. *Surius* in Comment.
 rerum in orba gestarum ad ann. 1517, ex Gerdesio, vol.
 i. p. 99.

† Fatemur liberè (enimverò velimus nolimus) non
 sine causâ vitia eorum, qui animarum curam agere debe-
 bant, à *Luthero* fuisse reprehensâ. Multi enim non
 oves, sed lanam, non gregem sed adipem gregis quære-
 bant. Vid. Gerdesii, vol. i. p. 99.

the year 1517 to 1546, published after *Luther's* death.

Peter Fischer, in a Dissertation lately published at *Gottingen*, observes, none of the Popes, Emperours or Princes in their Letters, Mandates, Bulls, Decrees, or Edicts, published on this occasion, make any mention of this motive to provoke *Luther*: nothing of it appears in his disputation with *Eccius*, nothing in any of his own Letters, in which he complains of many other false objections against him: none of his Adversaries, neither *Hogstrate* or *Prierias*, though both of them were *Dominicans*, object this to him: nay, not the chief man employed in the business, and principally attacked by *Luther*, *Tetzelius*, reproaches him with this envious spirit: no not *Cochlæus* himself, in all his numerous writings, while *Luther* lived, had the confidence to assign this cause.[†] Nor indeed was there any ground for it; for the *Austin* Friars were not usually employed on this occasion, but the *Franciscans*, as *Pallavicini* objects to *Fra. Paolo's* History, and proves against him*. It belonged to no Order, but the Mendicants were thought the fittest for the business, and among these the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans* were generally made choice of. And shall we now credit the inventions of *Cochlæus* after *Luther's* death, so contrary to facts, and which he durst not publish while that Reformer lived? or does his skill in controversy, in the Conference at *Ausburgh*, *Ratisbone* and *Worms* make him

[†] Differt. Hist. Eccles. anno. 1749.

* Ac primò quidem falsum est, consuevisse hoc munus injungi Eremitanis, cum à Julio Minoribus impositum fuerit, r^e supra declaratum est. *Pallavicini*, Hist. Conc. Frid. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 14.

an unexceptionable Voucher, even in an instance of manifest untruth? *Luther* therefore stands justified by the Romanists themselves in his opposing this scandalous trade of Indulgences. The Pope condemned his opinions; *Luther* appealed to a General Council: several *German* Princes and States joined in this Appeal, in order to bring on that long wished for Reformation of the Church in its Head and Members: Why then was it delayed for five and twenty years? And who was in fault? ‘*Leo*, says Mr. *Phillips*, in the disposition *Europe* then was, thought a General Council would be a hazardous expedient.—Why so?—He feared what such an assembly might undertake concerning a reform of the Court of *Rome*, which he was unwilling should be submitted to any inspection but his own.” *Europe* was in a disposition to examine the power of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the corruptions which had been introduced into the Church through a few preceding Centuries of slavery and ignorance; the Bishop of *Rome* refuses to submit his claims of power and his corrupt administration of the Church to any inspection but his own. Were then the Princes, the Priesthood and the Laity to blame, who refused that power which *would not* be bounded, and endeavoured themselves to reform abuses which the Author of them supported? Had they waited for the next Pope, *Adrian VI.* how did things mend? He was sensible of the need there was of a Reformation, and confessed, that, in truth, for many years past, the Sins of *Rome* had been manifold and grievous, and that even from the Head, down to the inferior Clergy, that

that Evil and Contagion had been propagated. But as to applying the effectual Remedy, a General and Free Council, it was ‘ represented to him by the ‘ Cardinal who had been employed under the three ‘ last Popes, *Alexander*, *Julius*, and *Leo*, that in ‘ the situation things then were, those measures, ‘ which in other circumstances might seem adviseable, ‘ would only serve to make the Disturbers of the ‘ publick tranquility more insolent, and heighten ‘ their credit with the people : that they would look ‘ on the intended reformation as a concession of the ‘ abuses they had complained of, and instead of being satisfied with what he should do in order to ‘ remedy Evils, which length of time had never ‘ failed to introduce, would go on to demand other ‘ essential changes, and thus throw every thing into ‘ confusion.^w’ Thus, beside the unwillingness in the Pope to be reformed by others, he continues abuses in the Church, of which he himself was sensible, lest the removal of them should give credit to those whose consciences had been offended at them. His Successor *Clement VII.* ‘ who had been used to ‘ Courts, made use of that address which is there ‘ acquired.^x’——To what purpose? to procure a Council or to evade one? the Event informs us; he never called one: and *Du Pin* tells us, He was positively against a Council, and much more such an one as was proposed by the Diet of *Nuremberg*^y. His reason for it is given, not by a Protestant, but a *Roman*, *Miniana*, in his continuation of *Mariana’s* History; who tells us that the Emperour, in order to heal the disorders introduced by the Hereticks,

^w P. 327.

^x P. 328.

^y XVI Cent. b. ii. c. 17.

reticks, applied to this Pope to call a General Council; but the Pope studious of his own safety, and conscious of a blot, for which he was apprehensive a Council would depose him, rendered fruitless the Emperour's wishes and attempts*. This blot was either bastardy or simony, under the reproach of both which he labored. So that a Free General Council, from the disposition of the Pope, was entirely to be despaired of: he would either call none, or one at his command, who should not restrain his authority, or correct abuses complained of: but labor to establish his Tyranny, and condemn those who condemned the abuses of the Court of *Rome*. With this view *Paul III.* appeared active for calling a General Council, and propounded *Mantua* for the place. The Protestants objected to that city, as the Brother of its Duke was a Cardinal; and against the Pope's Presidency, as he had declared himself a party in the Bull of Indiction, professing, that he called the Council to root out the *Lutheran* Heresie. To prepare for a future Council *Paul* amused the *Germans* with the advice before mentioned of *Pole* and his eight Collegues for a Reformation: who very honestly pointed out the two capital sources of all the Disorders; the sycphantick extension of the Pope's Power by his Creatures and Flatterers; and the

* Divini et humani juris conturbatis rationibus perfidia hæreticorum ad œcumenici concilii sacram anchoram recurrit Cæsar maturandi ad Pontificem (Clem. VII.), qui oraret, ut in eo colligendo navaret operam, dato negotio Petro Cuvæ aulæ magistro. Verum abnuente officium Pontifice, præ studio sibi cavendi, ne vitio, quo laborabat, loco excideret, si concilium cogeret, nullum extitit operæ pretium, abiireq; in irritum Cæsar's vota. Lib. ii. cap. xiv.

the prostitution of the grace of God which was so scandalously put up to publick sale. This was too much to be openly avowed, therefore it was suppressed, and only secretly handed about to whom they thought proper, and afterwards when it became too publick, prohibited. In the mean time several Diets were held in the Empire to reconcile the Romanists and Protestants. At *Ratisbone* they made a very considerable progress towards this desirable end: but the Pope's Legate frustrated the accommodation. Thus the Pope refused any reformation which he should not direct; and the Protestants would not submit to the Decrees of a Council which should be under his immediate influence. Such was the state of things when *Paul III.* called the Council of *Trent*. This Mr. *Phillips* says, with respect to the Protestants, ' was to begin by Schism, what was designed to put an end to it.^z' But surely when the Pope's power is in dispute, to determine it to be Schism, to doubt of it, is to beg the question.

But notwithstanding all the Pope's pretence of desiring to call a Council, he suffered eight years to pass before it met; for which it is certain the Pope was censured, as *Sadolet* writes to *Pole*: ' all that is blameable redounds to his dishonor, whom we revere and love, and to whom we have the highest obligations.^a' ' These complaints, says Mr. *Phillips*, coming to the Pope from all sides, and from none louder than the Emperour and the whole Germanick Body, seemed, at length, to have de-

' terminated

^z P. 333.^a P. 332.

' terminated him *to put off no longer* the only remedy
 ' that was adæquate to the greatness of the Evil.^b
 The truth was, the Emperour had promised to re-
 quire the Pope to call a Council, and if he did not,
 he would call a Diet of the Empire within eighteen
 months to end all differences in Religion^c. He
 therefore chose to call one, which he could com-
 mand, rather than submit to one which should com-
 mand *him*. And for this reason, he wished to have
 it in *Italy*; *Ferdinand* not assenting to this, he ap-
 pointed *Trent*, on the confines of *Germany* and *Italy*,
 but rather in *It. l*, than *Germany*, under his own
 Presidency; by which he got rid of the Pro-
 testants, who had before declared they would ad-
 mit of no Council, but in *Germany*; and that not
 under the government of the Pope. Yet his Holi-
 ness durst not trust even to a Council so garbled, with-
 out many other arts for the direction of it.

They first met in *November*, 1542, where three
 Legates, of which Cardinal *Pole* was the third, pre-
 sided. This was adjourned within a few months
 after the meeting: but resumed again three years
 after, *December* 1545, when Cardinal *Pole* was first
 Legate^d. He staid a month after his two Collegues
 at *Rome*, where he composed a Work on the nature
 and end of General Councils; which was published
 a few years after his death by *Aldus Manutius*, in
 1562, who dedicated it, says our Biographer, ' to
 ' *Paul IV.* of the Medicean Family.^e' This mis-
 take of making *Manutius* dedicate a Book to a Pope,
 who had been dead almost three years, cannot be
 charged

^b Ibid.
 350.

^c Du Pin XVI. Cent.

^d P. 333. ^e P.

charged on the private press he made use of at *Oxford*, but to his own inaccuracy.

When the Council met, at the very beginning of it, the Pope settled a Congregation of Cardinals and Officers of the Court of *Rome* to have direction of affairs belonging to the Council^f. Now I would ask the Disciples of the Pope, whether they suppose the Holy Spirit assisted the Council at *Trent*, or the Congregation at *Rome*? if the former, what occasion there was for the latter? Next he nominated the Officers of the Council: which even *that Council* complained of, as an usurpation of their Rights. And in the very first Session, the Legates would not suffer the Council to assume the Title of *Representing the Universal Church*, because of the clause which was added to the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*; ‘ that the Council holds its power immediately from ‘ *Jesus Christ*; and that all Christians of what condition or dignity soever, even Popes themselves, ‘ are obliged by it. The Pope thanked them for ‘ thus defending the interest of the Court of *Rome*.^g’ So determined were they not to yield the remedy which had been demanded by the injured Christian World! When they came to consider the business to

^f Du Pin.

^g Du Pin, p. 5. XVI Cent. lib. 3. c. 1.

* — Ut nihil quicquam dicere, proponere, aut suadere licitum sit, quod propositioni factæ à Legatis Papæ non usquequaq; consentiat et concordet. — Hoc magno artificio excogitatum esse confusionis et turbarum vitandarum speciem, sed reverà, ut impediretur efficax Ecclesiæ et Curiae Romanæ emendatio. Richerus (a strict Papist) in Hist. Concil. General. lib. iv. part 2.

to which they should apply themselves, Some proposed that they should begin with *Reformation*, as what the *Germans* had so long desired: others wished to begin with *Doctrine*, fearing, if they labored after Reformation, they should correct some abuses of the Court of *Rome*, and thereby renew the antient differences that were between the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, and the Pope: A third proposal was to join both together. The Legates were glad to close in here, and thought it a victory to the Holy See to defeat the designs of those who aimed at Reformation singly; but when they sent the Pope word of it, expecting his thanks, he was very angry that they had *at all* consented that Reformation should be treated of, and commanded them to execute the first orders that he had given them, not to suffer any matters to be treated of in the Council but those of Faith. However, the Legates had agreed to treat of both together, and the Pope was forced to acquiesce. Many other arts were made use of to secure his command over the Council; supporting some of the poorer Bishops, who taking his pay were enlisted into his Service*; calling back again such Bishops as had

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left

* This is intimated even by the Biographer himself, who says, the Legates signified to the governing Cardinal *Farnese*, 'that several of the Bishops were unprovided with necessaries, and that it would be proper to appoint a Treasurer, with a fund sufficient to answer their exigencies.' p. 351. It appears from the Acts of the Council, that there were (in Pius IVth's time) present 270 Bishops, of which the Italians made 187, on which *Richerius*, a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, observes, pontifices sedulam dedisse operam, ut in Trid. Concilio Episcopi Italiae triplo fermè aliarum provinciarum episcopos superarent;

left it, when a Majority was wanting; admitting the Generals of Orders, protected by the Pope, and devoted to him, to a deliberative and decisive vote; And when a Majority of two or three were against them, his Legates challenged, for their dignity, that the Minority, with them, should be considered as of more weight than the Majority. All these, and many more instances, of unfair influence are to be found in the History of this Council, which I take from *Du Pin*; as Mr. *Phillips* objects to *Paolo*, his being adverse to the Pope; and *Pallavicini*'s is written purposely to balance the prejudices of the former, by, at least, as great ones on the other side.

As previous to the Sessions Mr. *Phillips* descants on the behaviour of two Princes, who had then the lead in the affairs of *Europe* (the Emperour and *French King*) ‘ whose deference to the Fathers of the Council might recall to the learned Reader the respect which the great *Constantine* shewed to the Bishops at the Council of *Nice*; who requested them to meet in that City from different Provinces of *Europe, Asia, and Africa*, by Letters full of respect.^h’ But *Eusebius* says, *Constantine* gave command for the assembling a General Council; and that *Writs of Summons* were sent into every Province.ⁱ And as to the Emperour and the *French King*, before the Council was concluded, the behaviour of the Pope was

^h P. 353.

ⁱ Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. 3. p. 6.

perarent; ac proinde omnia ex animi sui arbitrio et curiæ Romanæ stylo ac placitis, quibus innutriti erant, decernerentur.---Italiæ episcopos assuetos dominationi Curia Rom. totos a nutu pontificis tanquam absoluti monarchæ pependisse. Hist. Concil. General. lib. iv. part. 2.

was so scandalous as to offend them both ; when the Legates proposed moving the Council from *Trent* to *Bononia*, the Fathers would not consent without seeing the Pope's Commission : yet, when the Emperour resented this removal of it without his consent, the Pope assured him by his Nuncio that he had no hand in that Translation : The Emperour protested against his proceedings as unlawful, illusive, and fraudulent. The *French* King, in a speech prepared by his Ambassadors, if not spoken, represented, that it appeared, in calling the Council he had not in view the Reformation of the Church, and restoration of Discipline, but the management of his own Interests preferably to the Publick Good. The Protestants they had endeavoured to exclude by refusing a free Council in *Germany*, or one, in which the Pope, as a party accused, should not preside ; the equity of which is acknowledged by all men, and even by a Pope*. And when, for peace sake, they agreed to come to *Trent*, on a safe conduct, the Pope's Council at *Rome* opposed it, lest their arrival might corrupt some, as it happened to *Vergerius*, Bishop of *Justinople* : and when, for fear of the Emperour, they thought a safe conduct must be granted, they proposed an elusive one, to all the Ecclesiasticks and Seculars of the *German* Nation in general, which might seem to comprehend the Protestants ; yet intending to except them, because not

M 2

named

* Quæro tamen ab his, judiciumq; quod prætendunt, ubinam possit agitari, an apud ipsos, ut iidem sint inimici, et testes, et judices ? sed tali judicio nec humana debent committi negotia, nedum divinæ legis integritas. P. Gelas. Ep. 4. Thus we see a Pope himself has condemned the Council of *Trent*.

named expressly: or that the Council might grant a safe conduct for *itself*, but leave the authority of the *Pope* free. And indeed what hearing or redress could the Protestants expect, when the petitions of the Emperour and the *French King*, for a Reformation in some particulars, were not vouchsafed to be proposed by the Legates^k? The two great corruptions, the Tyranny of the Pope, and the merchandise of Grace, which the Protestants had objected, and the Pope's Council of *Nine* had acknowledged, as needing Reformation, were established by this Council of *Trent*; the bounds of the former were extended, and the principles on which the other abuses built, were confirmed. The Pope was now, contrary to former Councils, made Superior to a General Council, to preside at it by his Legates, to guide and influence it at a distance; and Bishops were no longer commissioned by Christ as Successors of the Apostles, but derived their powers from the Pope as his Delegates. And Purgatory, Mass-Sacrifices, Invocation of Saints, meritorious works, satisfaction and atonement by other means than Christ's blood, and Indulgences, (though a little restrained in the dispensing them,) those sources of wealth to the Pope and his Dependents, and of a fatal security to the deluded votaries, were now authoratively decreed under an Anathema to the Contradictors.

Mr.

^k Vide Schelhorne Amænit. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. p. 495.

§. 18. Mr. Phillips's opinion of the Council of Trent, and of the Principles of the Protestants.

Mr. Phillips's opinion of this Council, is, ' that the World has never seen a more illustrious Copy of the venerable Council of Jerusalem under the Apostles, than that of Trent.¹' Some differences there appear to have been in the two Councils, which by his leave I shall point out. 1. St. Peter was present in that of Jerusalem, while his pretended Successor presided at Trent by means of his Cloak-bag. 2. St. Peter, though present, did not preside: the Pope would preside, though absent. Mr. Phillips, from Pole, would prove St. Peter's presidency by his opening the Council; but he did not open it. The Text says, *And the Apostles and Elders came together for to consider of this matter. And when there had been much disputing, Peter rose up and said^m.* Did the opening of the Council begin after the disputation? 3. Peter rose up as one of the Council to deliver his own opinion: but the Pope's business in all Councils, says Pole, is to propose the faith, and the rest are not only to approve, but find out arguments to confirm it*. 4. Not Peter, but St. James, the Bishop of the City, formed the Decree to which all assented: So that at Trent, not the Pope himself, had he been there, or his Legates in his absence, should have presided and formed the Decree, but Cardinal Madrucci should have had that office assigned him, to have made this a more exact Copy of the venerable Original. 5. The Persons who consulted, assisted, and assented in the Apostolical Council,

M 3

were

¹ P. 421.

^m Acts xv. 6, 7.

* Polus de Concilio. Quæst. xxxviii. pag. 21.

were different from those which *Pole* mentions ; he says, the Council consisted of *Peter*, the Apostles, and Elders : there is no where any distinction of *Peter* from the other Apostles in the Text but as a proposer of his private opinion ; and as such St. *James* is distinguished also : but the Council is proposed as consisting of *the Apostles, and Elders, and Brethren* ; (where the Vulgate leaves out the last copulate, and reads *the Apostles, and Elders, Brethren*;) but that reading is refuted by the preceding verse, *the Apostles, and Elders, with the whole Church*. The assent of the Brethren or People is necessary : in Doctrines reveled by God, the rejecter does it at his hazard, for want of necessary faith ; to force his outward assent is of no use to him : in Discipline, where Mens liberty or property are concerned, the assent of the Princes, and their People, either personally or representatively, is necessary. And therefore the Council of *Trent*, presuming to subject Princes to deprivation of Cities, Castles, and Goods ; and their people to pecuniary fines, seizures of Estates, and imprisonment, acted beyond their power ; and where such assent is wanting, the Decrees must be ineffectual. Thus the Emperour rejected part of their Decrees : *Spain, Flanders, Naples, and Sicily* received the Council, but with a Proviso, to save the Rights of the Prince and Kingdom : And the *French* would never receive it to this day. 6. The design was different ; the Apostolical Council was to take off from the *Gentiles* a heavy yoke which God had imposed upon the *Jews* : the *Trent* Council was to impose as galling a yoke on all which God had not enjoined. The restraint, which the former laid in indifferent things, was necessary for peace and free communion
with

with one another ; what the latter imposed was unnecessary, and on purpose to divide and separate. 7. The Apostolical Council was assisted by the Holy Ghost : the *Trent* Council pretended the same ; but *Manutius*, the Pope's Printer, who first published the Decrees of the Council blundered upon the Truth, when, in the thirteenth Session, he ascribes the happy success of this Council to the direction and overruling of *a particular Spirit*, instead of *the particular* guidance of the Holy Spirit*. I will not here offend Mr. *Phillips* by repeating the Scoff which he mentions as indecent and void of witⁿ ; but the expression did not mean any indecent blending the Holy Ghost with the Roman Cloak bag, or, as the province of wit is, to confound the ideas ; but to distinguish the one from the other, and separate what the Council of *Trent* in their pretences had confounded. But be the expression as blameable as Mr. *Phillips* would wish it, it is not ours, but their own, used by a venerable Bishop of their own Communion, a member of the Council of *Trent*, witness of their scandalous proceedings there, where, he says, they daily saw hungry and needy Bishops come, youths for the most part, which did but begin to have beards, given over to luxury and riot, hired only to give their voices as the Pope pleased, and whom he compares to Country Bagpipes, who could not speak but as breath was put into them. The Holy Ghost, says he, had nothing to do in this Assembly ; all the

M 4

counsels

ⁿ P. 395.

* Non absque *peculiaris Spiritus Sancti* ductu et gubernatione.

counsels given there proceeded from human policy, and tended only to maintain the Pope's immoderate and shameful domination: He then represents, that while the Fathers boasted that they at *Trent* were governed by the Holy Spirit, they really were governed by the contents of a postilion's cloak bag from *Rome*. This being the Truth, the indecency, (if you please, impiety,) falls on the Fathers and their Sycophants, who ascribe to the Holy Ghost the worldly dictates of the Pope communicated by the cloak bag. And this Writer was no other than *Dudithius*, a Domestick of Cardinal *Pole*'s, and the Translator of his Life by *Beccatelli*. But our Biographer chose to suppress his name, lest we should discover another of *Pole*'s family disposed to leave the Roman Communion: The *French* Ambassadour also, as Mr. *Phillips* tells us, made use of the same expression; and *Fra. Paolo* mentions it as a blasphemous Proverb generally used.* Nay Cardinal *Pole* himself will teach us to judge by *what* Spirit that Council was governed. He tells us, a Council, which proposes nothing else than the honor of God in Christ, and the welfare not of any one man, or people, or nation, but the common welfare of all who profess the Faith of Christ where ever dispersed over the whole Earth, such a General Council may be esteemed a lawful one, and guided by the Holy Spirit; but if respect be had to the honor of *one person only*, or of many, and his or their advantage, apart from God's honor, such a Council is governed by a Human Spirit, and their impious Decrees ought to be rejected by the voice of the Christian World: And he advises the Legates of
such

* Council of Trent, lib. 6.

such a Council to omit singing the usual Hymn, *Come, Holy Ghost**. And that this Council had respect to the honor of *one person only*, we have the testimony of the Emperour and the *French King*: says the first, fame reports that the Council is directed and governed at the nod of the *Roman Court*: Couriers from *Rome* are flying backwards and forwards; nothing is proposed or handled but what that Court enjoins: all things are managed in the Council by bribes, threats and promises†. The other, by his Ambassadors, says, you do nothing yourselves, Holy Fathers; but all things are transacted

* Quæst. XI. Quid est, quod more loquendi Ecclesiæ dicimus, in Spiritu Sancto indictum Concilium? quoque argumento ejusmodi Concilium dignoscitur?

Resp. Hoc quidem maxime, cum in eo cogendo is, qui ejus rei jus obtinet, solum Dei in Christo honorem spectat, et salutem non unius vel hominis, vel populi, vel nationis, sed omnium simul, quicumque Christi fidem per orbem utcunq; dispersi profitentur. Tale enim Concilium generale, legitimum, atq; in Spiritu Sancto indictum esse dicimus: Quòd si *unius alicujus hominis honor*, vel *plurium*, etiam si universi generis honor respicitur, ut Concilium illud Babylonium respexit; vel utilitas, si fieri potest, secluso Dei honore; hac in parte est Concilium humani Spiritûs, et quicquid per hunc Spiritum statuitur, contrarium est decretis Conciliorum generalium Ecclesiæ Christi, quæ illud imprimis sibi propositum habent, ut impia hujusmodi decreta abrogent, et aboleant. Pol. De Concilio. p. 7. et p. 55.

† Ecce jam cæpto Concilio rumor tam à Catholicis quam ab aliis hinc deinde spargitur, Concilium in omnibus adnutum Romanæ Curiae dirigi et moderari, Romæ cursores usq; deq; volitare, nil proponi aut tractari quod à Romanâ Curia speciatim haud imponatur, promissis, donis, minis cuncta agitari in Concilio. Ferdinandi literæ ad Pontificem Pium IV. scriptæ ac nondum editæ. Apud Schelh. Amæniti. Hist. Eccles. tom. i. p. 410.

ed at *Rome* rather than at *Trent* ; and what you publish are justly to be esteemed rather the ordinances of *Pius IV.* than the Decrees of the Council of *Trent*†. And now let the Reader determine, without respecting the characters of either, whose judgment, in this respect, is soundest ; that of the Canon of *Tongres*, who assures us the World has never seen a more illustrious Copy of the Apostolical Council than that of *Trent* : or, that of Lord *Bolingbroke*, who calls the whole a *solemn banter*.

As to the point at which their Decrees aimed, it was certainly contrary to that for which the Council had been demanded. The Christian World had complained of the tyranny of the Pope, and the oppressive avaritious impositions of him and his Ministers, and therefore called for a Reformation of that church in its Head and Members : the remedy, a General Council, had been by various arts eluded for five and twenty years. And when, at last, the Pope was forced to call one by the threats of *Germany* and *France*, that they would reform their own territories by national Councils, if they were longer denied a General one, he changed the object, and, instead of reforming the abuses of *Rome*, condemned those who censured

† Ubi nullum legibus locum, nullum antiquorum Conciliorum vestigium libertatis Pius IV. reliquit ; quid enim vobis judicandum proponitur, aut à vobis judicatum publicatur, quod non prius Romam missum, et Pio IV. placuit ?---Nihil à vobis, Patres SS. sed omnia magis Romæ quam Tridenti aguntur, & hæc quæ publicantur magis Pii IV. placita, quam Concilii Tridentini decreta jure existimantur. Instructions et Lettres des Rois tres-chrétiens & de leurs Ambassadeurs & autres actes concernant le Concile de Trente. P. 488. edit. à Fatibus Puteanis.

censured them. As was professedly declared by one of the Legates, Cardinal *Seripando*, in the year 1562, ‘ that the end ought not to be the instruction of the ‘ Catholics, but the confusion of the Hereticks.^p’ Accordingly Mr. *Phillips*, just before he gives an account of the Council, blackens the Hereticks (as he calls all Protestants) as if their irregularities were the occasion of calling it, and inferring, that they ‘ whose lives were so remarkably faulty, could never ‘ be designed by the source of truth and holiness to ‘ enlighten and reform mankind.^q’ The same inference he draws again, and says, ‘ no single instance ‘ can be produced where the Supreme Being, when ‘ he was about to revele to men any important truth ‘ which had been unknown in all past ages, or to ‘ reclaim them from any exemplary degeneracy, has ‘ ever chosen so scandalous a King, as *Henry VIII.* ‘ or such servile and corrupt ministers, both in ‘ Church and State, as that Prince made use of.’

Against this general declamation and the inference drawn from it in prejudice to the Reformation, it may be sufficient to observe, that among the Reformers there were many very good men as well as some bad ones; and that men so mixed may be chosen by *Christ* to revele truths and reform manners, for to *Judas*, as well as to the other Apostles, it was given in charge to go to *the lost sheep of the house of Israel*, to preach the kingdom of Heaven, to heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, and cast out Devils^r: that yet the Reformers never pretended to revele any important truth which had been unknown in all past ages, but

^p Fra. Paolo Conc. Trid. lib. vi. 432. ^q P. 275. ^r P. Matth. x. 4—8.

but to restore the knowledge of primitive truths, which the Church of *Rome* had corrupted ; that, by restoring to Men the knowledge of evangelical truths, they might recover them from an exemplary degeneracy to an evangelical Holiness ; that a more scandalous Prince than *Henry VIII.* was chosen to exalt the Church of *Rome* to that Supremacy which it now claims, I mean the Emperor *Phocas* ; and more corrupt Ministers have sat in that See since, to call Councils, which Mr. *Phillips* holds to be infallible, and to govern as *Christ's* Vicars, than were ever made use of by *Henry* to administer either in Church or State.

But to examine the Particulars for which he censures the Reformation at large, both here and in other Countries : He objects their variety of opinions, insomuch ‘ that the Synod of *Scrinia* came to this
 ‘ wild resolution of allowing every one to believe as
 ‘ he thought proper.’ As if the Members of the Roman Church were entirely agreed in *the absolute singleness* of the Gospel ; as if there had been no variety of opinions in the Fathers at *Trent*, and those so angrily maintained, as to come even to plucking of beards : nay, the Bishop of *Albeuga* observed,
 ‘ that it was never read in History, that any man e-
 ‘ ver quitted his opinion, unless he was forced to it,
 ‘ and thought that there was no better way to pre-
 ‘ vent heresies than *to tolerate all opinions*, and so to
 ‘ keep all the schools in peace ; that the protesta-
 ‘ tions which the Doctors made of submitting to the
 ‘ judgment of the Church, were only terms of ci-
 ‘ vility and decency, which ought to be answered
 ‘ by

‘ by a reciprocal deference towards them, and pre-
 ‘ serving themselves neuter amidst these Contradic-
 ‘ tions.^w’ Which advice, though then rejected,
 has been since followed in practice; as when the
Dominicans, to shew their agreement with the *Jesuits*,
 and to avoid the reproach of being called Calvinists
 and Jansenists (with whom they really agree) admit,
 that all men have *sufficient* Grace: but mean by
sufficient, a Grace that wants something more to make
 it *effectual*^x. Such is the harmony and *absolute sin-*
gleness of the *Roman Church*.

He objects further, the Lusts of Protestants, ‘ the
 ‘ defection of one of the fairest portions of the Ca-
 ‘ tholick Church was the effect of the lust and avarice
 ‘ of one despotick Tyrant: and the Priests and
 ‘ Religious of both Sexes were exempted from the
 ‘ observance of their vows.^y’ I fear it is a spirit
 of avarice that breaths forth that compliment on our
 Nation before its defection, that it was once one of
 the fairest portions of the Catholick Church; that
 is, it once was plundered by the Pope more than any
 other Nation under his yoke. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ*.
 The avarice of a more despotick Tyrant was disap-
 pointed by *Henry*. He aimed at nothing more than
 being King over all his own natural Subjects; whereas
 the Pope would usurp an Empire over all the King-
 doms of the World. His lusts, though highly blame-
 able, cannot reflect on the Protestants, of whose
 Religion he was not; and even had he been of it,
 the Church of *Rome* would gain no advantage by
 estimating the excellence of the two Professions by
 the

^w Du Pin, 16 Cent. p. 59.
^x P. 330, 331.

^y Paschal's Letters.

the comparative Lusts of the despotick Tyrant that was at the Head of them severally, *Henry* and *Paul* III. The latter, beside many other instances of his Lust which furnished him with a Daughter, was driven by it also to debauch that Daughter, as well as his own Sister, and his Neice^z. And if we descend to the Clergy and Religious, whose liberty of chaste Marriage, agreeably to God's word, he censures as indecent and offensive, we must with indignation hear this objected to us, by a Priest of that Church, whose Members have written in defence of Sodomy, as *Casa*, Archbishop of *Beneventum*^a; whose most Holy Popes have granted dispensations for this unnatural vice, as *Sextus* IV. to the whole family of Cardinal *Lucia* in the months of *June*, *July*, and *August*^b; whose Clergy were so profligate, that *Platina* feared a worse than *Dioclesian* persecution would be drawn upon them from offended heaven*; and at the time of the Council, *Ferdinand* desired to restore to his Priests the liberty of marriage, because his people, he said, could bear any thing but the impure

^z See Sleiden Hist. Ref. b. 21. p. 4. ^a Sleiden Hist. Ref. b. 21. ^b Wesselus Groningensis tractatu de Indulgentiis.

* Quid futurum nostrâ ætate arbitramur? quo vitia nostra eo crerere, ut vix apud Deum misericordiæ locum nobis reliquerint? Quanta sit avaritia sacerdotum, et eorum maxime qui rerum potiuntur quanta libido undique conquesta: quanta ambitio et pompa, quanta superbia et dissidia, quanta ignoratio tum sui ipsius, tum doctrinæ Christianæ, quam parva religio, et simulata potius quam vera. In Vita Marcellini.

impure Celibacy of their Clergy†. And how little the case was mended by the Council appears in a Visitation made in the year 1629, at the command of Pope *Paul V.* when it was found that among the Ecclesiastics of three large Provinces (who had all been bred up under the severe discipline of the Jesuits) there were only six Priests who did not keep Concubines^c. With what face can Mr. *Phillips* object to the Protestants, the chaste marriage of our Clergy, as a scandal that needed Reformation! Is the offence less at *Rome*, that exemplary City, that City set upon a Hill, where *Christ's* Vicar, the Pope, and the Apostles Successors the Cardinals, give the Christian World the light of their example? There *Pole* and his eight Collegues complain that the pride, the pomp, the impudence and shameless publick triumph of the Cardinals and Clergy's Whores are in excess beyond any other City in the World‡. *Espencæus*, a Catholick of great repute, asks, if this was not necessary for the service of those members at *Rome* who had vowed chastity? which he believes to be the case, because *Caraffa*, one of those nine who complained of the offence, when he came to be Pope

^c Wharton's Treatise of the Cælibacy of the Clergy.

† In Catholicis sacerdotibus cætera ferre potest, impurum verò cælibatum extrémé semper odit. Petitiones Imperat. Ferdinandi ad Concilium Trident. apud Schelhorn. Amæn. Hist. Eccles. tom. i. p. 548.

‡ In hâc etiam urbe, meretrices ut matronæ incedunt per urbem seu mula vehuntur, quas affectantur de mediâ die Nobiles familiares Cardinalium, Clericque. Nullâ in urbe videmus hanc corruptionem, præterquam in hâc omnium exemplari. Concilium de Emend. Eccles.

Pope, would not attempt the suppression of those Whores, though reminded of it by *Espencæus*§. And *Pole*, another of them, having restored his chaste Priests into *England*, meditated, as it is reported, the restoration of the stews||.

‘ The Laity were eased of many painful observances of Church discipline, fasts, confession, and penitence ; and carnal Souls, of which the Christian World was then full, readily received carnal instructions.^d’ We acknowledge that we do not observe the primitive discipline ; but we wish that a primitive zeal and humility in the people would permit the restoration of it. In the mean time we are well persuaded, that our discipline of instruction, prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, is more effectual to recover Sinners, and reconcile them to God, than the *painful* discipline, as Mr. *Phillips* calls it, of the *Roman* Church in her fasts, confession and penance. The primitive discipline they have remitted and ceased to observe as well as we. The early Christians admitted not persons guilty of enormous crimes, such as Idolatry, Adultery, and Murther, to their Communion, till after many years of publick

^d P. 331.

§ Et hanc tamen turpitudinem corruptelamq; ne ille quidem, ex consiliariis tum unus, Paulus postea IV. subtulit, quod, ut mihi bene sum conscius, eo quo me colloquio dignatus est, quâ potui et debui modestiâ privatim suaferam. *Espencæus* de *Continentiâ*, lib. 3. inter opera. fol. 733.

|| Immò aiunt, Eminentiam ejus jam in eo occupatam esse, ut lupanaria (sit dicto venia) restituat. *Schelhorne* ex anonymo quem suspicatur fuisse *Vergerium Amænit.* *Hist. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 23.

publick penance, to humble the Sinner, to satisfy the Church (offended by his crimes) of his repentance, and to deter others from the like offences; but this publick penance is in disuse at *Rome*, and the most execrable Sinner in her Communion, after being confest to a Priest, without giving the publick any token of his repentance, may pass for a true Penitent. Their very Priests, as Cardinal *Vitry* complains, spending the night in a brothel, and the next morning at the Altar; in the embraces of a whore at night, and in the morning handling the Virgin's Son*. Their false discipline destroys every Act of Penance: They indeed recommend *Contrition*, or a sorrow for Sin from the love of God; but they teach that *Attrition*, or a sorrow for Sin from the fear of punishment, with the Priests absolution, is sufficient. We teach with the Antients, that not the Priest's absolution, but the Contrition of the Penitent procures the pardon†. The present opinion of the Church of *Rome* was not maintained till about the year 1220. *Innocent III.* who died in 1216, knew nothing of it, but holds with us‡. Auricular Confession, according to the Tenets of the Church of *Rome*, encourages men to sin by training them up in a false security; for they teach, that the Priest's absolution to the Confessed gives pardon and

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* Nocte in lupanari, mane in altari, filiam Veneris nocte tangentes, filium Virginis mane contrectantes. Lib. ii. cap. 5.

† Non sententia Sacerdotum, sed reorum Vita quaeritur. Hieronym.

‡ Remisisti (says he on the second Penitential Psalm) ut patenter ostendat, quod peccatum prius remittitur per compunctionem à Deo, quam pronuntiatur per confessionem ab homine.

the infusion of grace ; the absolution is given before the penance is performed, which is enjoined to atone and make satisfaction, which is therefore often neglected ; the Confessed may demand absolution, without penance, in many enormous crimes on the doctrine of PROBABLE opinions ; so say *Bauny*, *Suarez*, *Vasquez* and *Sanchez* : grave Doctors and Jesuits all. Who, or their fellows, have justified the very crimes for which the primitive discipline would exclude the guilty from Communion till the hour of death. *Idolatry* they permitted in *China*, if they hid an image of *Christ* under their cloaks ; *Adultery* they countenance by permitting a woman to retain the wages of her Sin, unless committed with a Monk or a Minor, for then she must refund ; *Murder* they justify in a thousand instances, says *Paschal*, in his seventh Letter, on the authority of the same Casuists : several of which he mentions ; thus *Sanchez* says, ‘ A man may fight a duel, to save his life, his honor, or his goods :’ On which *Navarre* improves by saying, ‘ A man may likewise stab and kill his enemy sily. And when he can do so, and get quit of him, it is better than to fight a duel, for then he neither exposes his own life to danger, nor partakes of his enemy’s crime, which he must do in a Duel.’ ‘ A man, according to *Reginaldus*, may kill the false witnesses which his enemy has suborned against him.’ *Tanner* and *Emanuel Sa* allow farther, ‘ that he may murder the false witness, and the judge too, if they happen to be in concert with each other.’ And their general opinion is, as *Peter Navarre* relates it, that you may murder the man who affronts you, if the injury cannot be otherwise repaired. *Ex sententiâ omnium licet contumeliosum occidere,*

occidere; si aliter ea injuria arceri nequit. If such crimes are justified, few are left to be condemned. If condemned, still the confessed may demand absolution without penance; if he will stand to the pains of Purgatory; and these he may escape for one only Mass said at a privileged Altar. If he submits to the penance of Works to atone and make satisfaction, such as fasting and alms-giving, these also are, without much difficulty, eluded: the Gloss of the Canon Law pretends that a Son may fast instead of his Father, and a Brother for a Sister, and so for the rest; whence Persons of Quality send a Daughter of their family to a Convent, who is charged with a commission of fasting and praying for them, and undergoing the penances imposed on them. The Jesuits, with a still more obliging casuistry, excuse the obligation of fasting on many occasions; thus Father *Filliucius*, ‘ Suppose any one has fatigued himself, ‘ running after a girl for example, is he obliged to ‘ fast? Not at all. But what if he tired himself on ‘ purpose to be dispensed with from fasting, will he then ‘ be obliged? No, though it should be his premeditated design, he is not at all obliged to fast^f. And as for the Duty of Alms-giving out of our Superfluity, *Vasquez* tells us, ‘ that which is hoarded up ‘ to advance yourself or relations is not called *superfluity*; so that the laity seldom or never have any ‘ such thing, no, not even Kings themselves.^g’ Lastly, the *Indulgences* invented by Gregory VII. and since granted occasionally to raise large sums of money, for the remission of penances for a limited or

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^e Paschal's Letters, p. 189.

^f Pasch. Lett. 5.

^g Ibid. Lett. 6.

unlimited term of years ; and the Taxations of the Apostolical Chamber for Licences for sinning*, should have made Mr. *Phillips* blush to urge the remission of the Roman Discipline, against Protestants, as the seduction of carnal instruction to catch carnal souls.

‘ The wealth of the Church became every where the plunder of those who renounced the authority.^h’ This cannot be said of the Chief of the Reformers, the Prelates and Clergy ; for these, as Mr. *Phillips* heavily complains, were themselves plundered. If he means the reflexion against King *Henry*, he certainly, with the advice and consent of his two Houses of Parliament, had a right to employ those finews of war, which he had in his own Kingdom, to defend himself against the Pope, which the Pope, through the intrigues of *Pole*, was straining to the utmost, in order to depose him from his throne, or set a foreign Potentate above him. For these political reasons, the King alienated them from the Church ; and for other political reasons, the Pope, when restored in Queen *Mary*’s reign, confirmed the alienation ! If he would compare the avarice of the Protestant Clergy with that of the Roman Clergy, the view which *Nicholas de Clamengiis* gives of theirs will, I suppose, be sufficient to justify ours upon the comparison ; speaking of the vast revenues which the Cardinals spent on their Lusts, he says, ‘ not two or three, or ten, or twenty Benefices would suffice, but an hundred or two hundred ; yea, sometimes four or five hundred, or

^h *Phillips*, P. 331.

* *Omnis noxa, omnis error, omnia maleficia, etiam si capitalia sint, per pecuniam laxantur, ac delentur. Nic. de Clamengiis De corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu. circa ann. 1398.*

‘ or more, were usurped by one Cardinal ; and those
 ‘ too not of the poorer sort, but the fattest and rich-
 ‘ est of all. And how great a number soever they
 ‘ had, they still more vehemently endeavoured to get
 ‘ more.* ’

He objects, moreover, to our religious enquiries into things reveled, because Mysteries of Religion, though proposed to our understanding with all the evidence of light and truth, are still incomprehensible ; and must always be the object of faith rather than knowledge, as being little consonant to reason and to the experience of our senses ; and this casts curious and presumptuous minds into error and impiety.ⁱ If by *things little consonant to the experience of our senses*, he means, *concerning which our senses give us but little information* ; we may doubtless assent to Doctrines, concerning which they give us no immediate information at all : If he means, *which seem to disagree with the testimony of our senses*, we may assent to these also, if what seems to be their testimony be indeed only a prejudice of imagination, or if we have not the means of exercising our senses fully in relation to them : But where we have, and especially if we can exercise not only one of our senses about them, but all which are capable of being so exercised, and that as completely as we will ;

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then

ⁱ P. 331.

* Non quidem duo vel tria, decem vel viginti, sed centena et ducentena, et interdum usque ad quadringenta vel quingenta et amplius. Nec parva et tenuia, sed omnium pinguiissima et optima.—Quantumcunque ad numerum aut summam venerint, ad ampliorem festinant et assidue festinant, et ardentius festinant. De corrupt. Ecclesiae statu, cap. 11.

then we cannot reject their Evidence, without making that of every external object uncertain. Again, if by *little consonant to Reason*, he means, *in favor of which Reason can say little or nothing*, we may certainly admit such Doctrines on the Credit of Revelation: nay, though there be Circumstances in them, which to Reason seem strange, Doubts which it cannot answer, Difficulties which it cannot solve, yet, if they imply no plane contradiction or impossibility, we ought to submit our understandings to the obedience of Faith. But further we cannot go, without renouncing Reason, and even destroying all the grounds on which Faith itself stands; for which cause we ought ever to interpret Scripture so as to avoid absurdities. Thus for example: God is no object of sense: yet we have abundant proof that *he is*, and that he is *a rewarder of them who diligently seek him*. His Existence and Providence are what we are to believe, the manner of his existence, and the hidden wisdom of his Providence, are mysteries, which, as we cannot possibly comprehend, we cannot be said to believe or disbelieve. Again: Revelation tells us, *There is but One God*: the same Revelation informs us, that *the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God*. And this we can rationally believe, because Divine Works, Divine Attributes, Divine Honors are ascribed to each; whence Reason assents that these Three are One God: but the *manner* in which they are One God, is a mystery not reveled, and therefore not required to be believed. Mysteries, or *secret things*, *Moses* says, *belong to the Lord our God: but those things which are reveled belong unto us and unto our Children for ever,*

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THAT WE MAY DO THE THINGS OF THIS LAW^k. What God reveles is to influence our practice ; in the above instance, *that all men should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father*^l, which they ought not to do unless he were God, for *thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*^m. But to believe, in contradiction to all the senses which we can employ on the occasion, that bread is flesh ; in contradiction to the plainest reason, that *Christ* held his Body in his hand, and that all the Apostles swallowed it at once down their throats, while he was sitting at table with them before their eyes, that it can be at the same time in Heaven and many different places of the earth, in motion and at rest ; and lastly, in contradiction to Scripture, that his Body literally speaking was broken and his blood shed before he suffered, *belongs not unto us and to our children*, nor to any Beings indued with rational faculties ; and would lead us to do contrary to the words of this law, by worshipping a piece of bread as God. We therefore encourage Religious enquiries, *lest we fall into error and impiety*.

But this Private Judgment is another offence which the Council of *Trent* was called to take away, ' for the Profelytes of the new sects were allowed to ' be the Arbitrators of their own belief, and though ' no pretension would be more extravagant, yet it ' flattered their vanity, and left them at large to *prophecy smooth things* to every corruption of their ' heart.ⁿ' Extravagant as this may appear to Mr. *Phillips*, the most bigoted Papists, as well as the most

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^k Deut. xxix. 20.
10. ⁿ P. 331.

^l John v. 23.

^m Matth. iv

most rational Protestants, must be left to be the Arbitrators of their own belief; the Bigot thinks, and he cannot think without exercising his private judgment, that he hath reasons, and therefore he must be *the Arbitrator of his own Belief* in them, to repose an implicit confidence in men, who assume *to have dominion over his faith*^o; while the Reasoner is encouraged to *search the Scriptures*^p, which speak *as to wise men*, and allow him to *judge what they say*^q: And convinced by reason of their divine authority, he finds matter sufficient about which to exercise his faculties; and matter sufficient *above* his reason, though not *contrary* to it, to *cast down imaginations, and bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ*^r, for the exercise of faith. If he has not learning or abilities to judge of the Scripture, he must receive instruction from his spiritual guide; yet he must be allowed to be Arbitrator of his own belief, whether he will admit or refuse the interpretation; comparing, as well as he can, the credibility of his Teachers, with that of the things taught. In the latter case, he will be subject *here* to the determination (which ought never to be an uncharitable one) of the Church, in which providence hath placed him, whether he shall be continued in its Communion or not; but *hereafter* to that of the unerring Judge, whether his dissent was owing to the want of sufficient evidence, or to the corruptions of his own heart. But many, it may be said, will abuse this right of private Judgment; but so they will every mean of Grace that God and *Christ* afford them:

^o 2 Cor. i. 24.
^p 2 Cor. x. 5.

^p John v. 39.

^q 1 Cor. x. 15.

them : and the assumed Authority of the Church of *Rome* has been abused to prophecy smoother things to every corruption of the heart, than ever Private Judgment has done. Witness the tyranny, pride, luxury, and lust in the Rulers, and the obliging and accommodating behaviour, of the Jesuits, as Father *Petau* calls it, for the Ruled, by which they open their arms to all the World^s; that is, *prophecy smooth things to every corruption of the heart*. Irrational obedience to this authority, they say, is the most perfect obedience : and though *Christ's* commands withstand, they are no force against the judgment of the Church*.

As the Fathers at *Trent* agreed, that
 §. 19. *The Decrees of the Council.* matters relating to Faith and the Reformation of Manners should be jointly treated of, we cannot commodiously separate them, but must be content to huddle them together.

That they intended to establish, rather than reform, the abuses complained of by the Christian World, and for which this Council was demanded, which abuses were the tyranny of the Pope, and the scandals of Him and his Court in manners and discipline,

* Paschal, Letter v.

* Obedientia igitur irrationalis est consummata obedientia et perfectissima : scilicet quando obeditur sine inquisitione rationis, sicut jumentum obedit Domino suo. Cusan. Excitat. lib. vi.

Dico, nulla esse Christi Præcepta, nisi quæ per Ecclesiam pro talibus accepta sint. Mutato judicio Ecclesiæ, mutatum est et Dei judicium. Cusan. ad Bohemos, Ep. 3. p. 838.

cipline, is evident, not only because the Pope called the Council, which, according to antient custom, was the prerogative of the Emperour; and presided at it by his Legates contrary to the practice of the First General Councils; but also, because he was tacitly acknowledged Superior to the Council, which was a *new* Doctrine^t; nobody but his Legates were to propose any thing in the Council^u, which was *new* Practice; the Bishops, who are the Successors of the Apostles, and the Ministers of Christ, and till now were believed to be *sui juris*, were now first called and treated as *Delegates* only of the Holy See^w; all the Decrees were submitted to the Pope's approbation or rejection; all their Doctrines were subjected to his interpretation; all their Discipline to his dispensations^x. This was a very extraordinary complaisance, and not to have been expected, if they believed what they affirmed, that their Decrees were made by the assistance of the Holy Spirit: This was not only placing the Pope above the Council, and over the Universal Church, but it was exalting him above God himself: and whether that is a scriptural character of *Christ's* Vicar, or of *Antichrist*, let *Laines*, and *Salmeron*, and *Champion*, and *Bellarmino*, and *Pallavicini*, and *Phillips* judge. And that by these means they undid all the Transactions of the Council, and left the Pope sole Judge and Definer, is evident from *Buoncompagno*, Bishop of *Bestice*, in answer to those who dissuaded the Pope's confirmation, apprehending the Decrees too rigorous against the Court: 'Laws, said he, have no
' power

^t Sess. 1.^u Sess. 2 and 25.^w Sess. 5.^x Sess. 25.

power but what is given them by Him that governeth, and hath the care to execute them; he, by his exposition, may give them a more ample, or a more strict sense, yea and contrary to that which the words do import.—If his Holiness will forbid all interpretations (which he accordingly did) even to the Judges also, and ordain that in all doubts they shall come for exposition to the Apostolick See, no man will be able to make use of the Council in prejudice of the Court, which by use, and by interpretations, may be accommodated to that which may be for the benefit of the Church.^y If they believed the Decrees were the Dictates of the Holy Ghost, what impiety thus to evade them! if they did not believe so, what prophaneness to publish them as such!

In the fourth Session ‘a Decree passed concerning the Canonical books of Scripture, and the authority of Tradition.^z’ This was quite new, as to Tradition being a rule of faith, for *Gabriel Biel* toward the close of the foregoing Century determines, that the Scripture *alone* teaches all things necessary to Salvation*. And in the Canon of Scripture they have reckoned *Tobit*, *Judith*, the book of *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Maccabees* and *Baruch*, as well as the twenty-two books of the Hebrew Canon. Now *Bellarmino* himself acknowledges, that the Church can by no means make a book Canonical, which is not so, but only declare what is Canonical, and

^y Fra. Paolo C. Trent. lib. 8. p. 817. ^z Phil. p. 356.

* Et cætera nostræ salutis necessaria, quæ omnia *sola* docet sacra scriptura. Læctio. in Canon. Missæ. 71.

and that not at pleasure, but from antient Testimony^a. But antient Testimony tells us the *Jews* rejected these books as Apocryphal; and *Jerome* witnesses, the Church reads the books of *Tobit*, *Judith*, and *Maccabees*, but doth not receive them among Canonical Scriptures^b. Nay a Pope, *Gregory I.* rejected the book of *Maccabees* out of the Canon. *Catharinus*, who assisted at the Council, is honest enough to tell us, why they made (what *Bellarmino*^c says they cannot do) this book Canonical with the other apocryphal ones; because they are of great force against the Hereticks; for Purgatory is nowhere so expressly mentioned as in the *Maccabees*^d. They then declared the *Vulgate* Latin Edition of the Scriptures to be authentick, for this reason, as *Pallavicini* allows, in opposition to the *Lutherans*, who drew their heresies from the Originals*. These Decrees they made, ‘that all may know..what succours and Testimonies the Council intends to use to confirm its Doctrine.’ Namely, Apocryphal Books for Canonical; Traditions as equal to the Scriptures; and a Version preferable to the Originals. As to *Pacheco*’s proposal to forbid all modern versions

^a De Verbo Dei, lib. i. c. 11. ^b Prolog. in libr. Salom.

^c Greg. Moral. in Job. lib. 19. c. 17.

^d Annot. in Cajet. p. 40.

^e Decree of Sess. iv. Du Pin, p. 17.

* Quid vecordius quem mirari, quod Synodus, cum vellet multa fidei dogmata statuere adversus hæreses, nixas præcipuè in oppugnatione illius Sacri Voluminis, quo mille annos communiter Ecclesia usa fuerit, tanquam primum ædificii lapidem jaceret ipsam prædicti voluminis comprobationem. Conc. Trent, lib. vi. cap. 17. p. 605.

versions and interpretations of Scripture, Mr. *Phillips* reports it was dropped, ‘ and nothing more was said on the subject.’^f The truth was, he had offended the Legates by taking upon himself *to propose*, which they claimed as their sole office ; but though they discountenanced Him, yet they put into their Decree, ‘ to stop wanton wits, it forbids all men whatsoever to explaine the Scriptures in things relating to Faith, and the Doctrine of Manners, by trusting to their own lights according to their particular sense, contrary to the senses which our Holy Mother the Church hath held, and does hold, to whom only it appertaineth to judge of the sense and interpretation of Scripture.’^g Mr. *Phillips*’s judgment in aid of this opinion is, that ‘ in times so distant from the faith and teachable disposition of the primitive Christians, it may, perhaps, not be expedient to put indifferently into the hands of all the world those sacred oracles, of which God has given the understanding to pure souls ; and which the ignorant, according to St. *Peter*, *wrest to their own destruction.*^h’ The more distant times are from the faith of the primitive Christians, the more necessary it is to bring them acquainted with those sacred oracles which teach it : which the ignorant in St. *Peter*’s days could not *have wrested*, if St. *Peter* had thought, with his Successor, that the Scriptures should be withheld from them ; a privilege they enjoyed till the Synod of *Tholouse* in the year 1228. ‘ It may be further urged, says he, that the wisest nations have always removed the mysteries of religion

^f P. 356. Pallavic. lib. vi. c. 15. p. 592.
 cree Sess. iv. Du Pin, p. 17,

^h P. 356.

^g De

‘ religion from the approaches of the Vulgar.ⁱ’ But one wise man, whom the wisest of those wisest nations, the *Athenians*, held in admiration for his superior wisdom, *Demonax* the *Cyprian*, gives this reason for neglecting to be initiated into the *Eleusinian* mysteries ; if any thing bad was concealed in them, he should divulge it to the uninitiated to preserve them from their delusions ; if any thing good, his charity would induce him to publish it to the World*. What the Symbols concealed in these Mysteries were, my pen shall not revele : the Learned Reader may see in the Note from *Theodoret*†. Happy for *Pacheco*, that he has found an Advocate so classically learned ! Such is the learning which Mr. *Phillips* thinks it so very hard to sacrifice to the Duty of studying Theology^k ! Such the Mysteries of the wisest nations which he compares to the Scriptures ; and makes the concealment of the shameful Symbols of the *Eleusis* and the *Phallagogia* a reason for hiding from the Vulgar the Oracles of God ! He proceeds, ‘ and *Jesus Christ* himself, who ‘ is the wisdom of God, often spake in parables, ‘ to conceal from gross understandings what he designed to revele in particular to his Disciples.^l’ If he

ⁱ P. 357. ^k P. 82. ^l P. 357.

* Πρὸς δὲ θάτερον τὸ τῶν μυστηρίων, ταύτην ἔφη ἔχειν τὴν αἰτίαν, τὴ μὴ κοινωνῆσαι σφίσι τῆς τελετῆς, ὅτι ἂν τε φαῦλα ἢ τὰ μυστήρια, ἢ σιωπήσειαι πρὸς τὰς μηδέπω μεμνημένους, ἀλλ’ ἀποτρέψει αὐτὰς τῶν ὀργίων· ἂν τε καλὰ, πᾶσιν αὐτὰ ἐξαγορεύσειν ὑπὸ φιλάνθρωπίας. *Lucian in Demonact. vit. p. 1002. editio Bened.*

† Καὶ γὰρ αἱ τελεταὶ, καὶ τὰ ὄργια, τὰ τέτων ἔιχεν αἰνίγματα· τὸν κλένα μὲν Ἐλευσίς, ἢ φαλλογωγία δὲ τὸν φάλλον. *Therap. lib. vii.*

he means a temporary concealment from unbelieving and malicious Hearers, that will by no means answer our Author's purpose : if he means a lasting one from the generality of Christians, *Christ* himself assures us he had no such design ; for he expressly commanded, *what I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light : and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the house-tops*^m. Elsewhere, he tells us an observation of Bishop *White*, ' that when Men depart from the authority of the church, they lose all Criterion of truth and falsehood, in matters of religion, and must necessarily be carried about by every wind of doctrine.ⁿ' This single authority in support of an assertion so dishonourable to Reason and the written word of God, I shall oppose with two, each of them of greater eminence in that Church than *White* was. The one is the celebrated Canonist, *Panormitanus*, ' If any private person in matters of faith hath better reason out of Scripture than the Pope, his saying is to be preferred above the Pope's.^o' The other is *Gerson*, accounted the greatest Divine of his time, ' If a man be well skilled in Scripture, his Doctrine deserves more to be regarded than the Pope's Declaration :---And again, if in a General Council he finds the Majority incline to that part which is contrary to Scripture, he is bound to oppose it.^p'

In the article of Justification the Biographer tells us, ' This Decree, as it now stands, was found among the Cardinal's papers, and published with some other writings of his, by his Chamberlain *Pening*.---Nor can any instance do more honor to his

^m Matth. x. 27.
castr. de Electoral.
5. 6.

ⁿ P. 446.

^o Cap. signifi.
^p Examen Doctrin. part. 1, Conf.

‘ his Memory, than that the whole Catholick Church
 ‘ should consider him as a particular instrument of
 ‘ the Divine Spirit, in declaring a doctrine so much
 ‘ contradicted by the Innovators, and on which so
 ‘ venerable a Body as the Council of *Trent* should
 ‘ defer to his opinion with such a signification of their
 ‘ esteem.’ Cardinal *Pole* was First Legate, and obli-
 ged by illness to remove from *Trent* to *Trevilla* near *Pa-*
dua; his Collegues did not send to him to draw up
 the Decree, but sent him the Decree which they
 had drawn up for his Opinion. He returned it in
 four days; whether with any corrections of his, or
 not, I think, does not appear. *Pallavicini* says, his
 opinion was willingly received; but whether it was
 more than a civil approbation and acquiescence in
 theirs I recollect no authority to say: I should rather
 apprehend that it was not more, from his Letter to his
 Collegues 5 Oct. from which his Biographer quotes
 this paragraph, ‘ I have received a Copy of the De-
 ‘ cree concerning Justification, on which your Lord-
 ‘ ships are pleased to ask my opinion: and to be
 ‘ sincere, I don’t see what I can say on the Subject,
 ‘ as it contains many things, on which I should desire
 ‘ an explanation, which, being absent I cannot have.
 ‘ Besides I am too much out of order to be in a con-
 ‘ dition to think, much less to write on a matter of
 ‘ such importance.’ So that the Decree, written at
 full length in his own hand, being found among his
 papers, is rather a proof, that he copied, for his
 own use, the Decree which the Council had sent
 him, and he returned in four days; than that the
 Council considered him as a particular instrument of the
 Divine

Divine Spirit, in declaring a doctrine so much contradicted by the Innovators.^t

And that *Pole* did not entirely condemn the Lutheran doctrine of Justification appears with more evidence than what Mr. *Phillips* produces for his drawing up the article that condemns it: for entering on the Subject as presiding Legate, he advised them to read the Adversaries books, and that without prejudice, nor think it sufficient for condemning an opinion, to say, *Luther* taught thus; lest, like *Pighius*, while they endeavoured to shew their aversion to *Luther*, they heedlessly went over to the heresy of *Pelagius*^u. And when his friend *Contareni*'s Nephew, the Bishop of *Belluno*, delivered his opinion, it was disrelished, as agreeing with the *Lutherans*, and which they supposed he had received from his Uncle^w; with whom *Pole* is allowed by Mr. *Phillips* to have agreed^x. Nay, when *Pole* would vindicate himself from agreeing with the Protestants in this article, he proves that he did agree with them; for he says he learned it from Scripture, from whence they drew their doctrine, in reconciling St. *Paul* and St. *James*^y: the first, as the Protestants distinguish in the Colloquy at *Ratisbone*, was the justification by faith previous to works; the other the reward of that obedience which was the fruit of it^z.

But whether *Pole* drew up the Decree of the Council or not, relates only to the History of Him,
O in

^t P. 369. ^u Pallavic. Conc. Trid. lib. 8. c. 1.
p. 709. ^w C. 4. p. 723. ^x P. 286. ^y P. 365.
^z Bucer Disputata Ratisbonæ, anno 1546. p. 302.

in which I think Mr. *Phillips* mistaken ; but the Decree itself is recommended, ‘ as very luminous and comprehensive, equal to any plan of doctrine of former Councils or of any other writings ^a :’ It was so *comprehensive*, as to be three months altering and accommodating to the contrary opinions of the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, the *Thomists* and *Scotists* ; infomuch that the contradictory Comments of *Soto* and *Vega* claimed the authority of this Decree : it was so *luminous*, that they purposely left us in the dark, whether the *Virgin Mary* was conceived in sin or not ; whether man had free will or not ; whether he could or could not have a certainty of faith ; Whether he was or was not predestinated ; whether sufficient grace was or was not insufficient : so studied was this obscurity, that the French Ambassadour gives this general character of their proceedings, that whereas other men speak on purpose to be understood, that is what these Fathers least intended* : but though so reserved in their Decrees, with respect to the variety of their own opinions, they were profuse in their Canons to condemn the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*. It was said, that in all the Councils, held in the Church, from the Apostles time till then, there were never so many articles decided as in this sixth Session only, by the help of *Aristotle*, without whose assistance we had wanted many articles of Faith ^b.

The point itself, the doctrine of Justification, is, according to *Pallavicini*, the Criterion of a Catholic
lick

^a P. 368. ^b Fra. Paolo, lib. 2. p. 228.

* Cæteri homines loquuntur ut intelligi possint, isti nihil minus volunt quam ut intelligantur.

lick or Heretick, the root of truth or error†. And indeed we shall find most of the Novelties in the Creed of *Pius IV.* derived from this source.

Justification, according to the Scriptures, consists, partly in not imputing our sins to us; and partly in imputing righteousness to us on account of *Christ's* righteousness. 2 Cor. v. 19. Phil. iii. 9. Rom. v. 18, 19. Now if the Council admit this, there is reason to suspect, that their acknowledgment of the truth was owing to the Protestants; for in the Conferences at *Ratisbone*, the very year before the Decree passed, *Malvenda* and his Collegues on the side of the Catholicks maintained, that it was absurd and unworthy of God to ascribe to him the not imputing to a man the sin he was guilty of, and imputing to him the righteousness which was not his^c.

This Justification has no respect to our Works, except that Faith is necessary to apprehend and lay hold of it, Rom. iii. 28. And the Decree expressly says of works done *before* Justification, what it might have said also of Works done *after* it, that they have no merit in them. Yet *Pallavicini* says, they meant to affirm a merit of congruity^d: but if the majority really meant so, they purposely intended not to express it, to oblige the *Dominicans*, who said the distinction

O 2

tinction

^c Disputata Ratisbonæ in altero colloquio, p. 222, 227. ^d Sess. vi. cap. 8.

† Justificationis dogma tessera quodammodò erat, quâ Catholici ab hæreticis discernebantur, et radix, unde veluti quidam rami reliqua seu vera seu falsa dogmata pullulabant. Conc. Trid. l. 8. c. 11. p. 752.

inction of *congruous* and *condign* merit was never heard of in the primitive Church, and should be entirely dropped, as giving offence to the *Lutherans*^e.

With the remission of sin, sealed to us by the Sacrament of Baptism, or washing of water, was also given the Holy Spirit for our Sanctification, to enable us to perform such evangelical works as God has commanded. John iii. 5. Tit. iii. 5, 6, 7. This leads to consider Justification in two distinct views; one, as we are conditionally assured of it by the merits of *Christ* and the promises of the Gospel; the other, as we actually receive it by the performance of that Condition which is Faith. This distinction, attended to, had unravelled the difficulties which the Fathers of the Council were in about the Certainty of Justification; and might have prevented the errors in the ninth Chapter, forbidding any to boast of being certain that they are forgiven by the alone free Grace of God through *Jesus Christ*^f, as if he, that had not this Faith, doubted of the promises of God, and of the efficacy of the death of *Christ*. Now with respect to Justification in the first view, this belief is our Duty; for it rests on the satisfaction of *Christ*, which is all sufficient; and on the promise of God which is infallible; but with respect to Justification in the other view, to which our concurrence with the Spirit of Sanctification is required, the Council might truly determine, that ‘a Christian may, ‘considering his own weakness and indisposition without any doubt of the Mercies of God, the merits of ‘*Jesus Christ*, and the virtue of the Sacraments, ‘fear

^e Du Pin, Cent. XVI. b. iii. c. 2. p. 35.
cap 9.

^f Sess. vi.

‘ fear that he is not in a state of Grace.^g’ *Bossuet* might hence have spared his charge of inconsistency in the *Lutherans*, concerning the Certainty and Uncertainty of Justification which they taught^h; for he might have seen it clearly enough stated by themselves in the *Ratisbone* Conference, the *certainty* being grounded firmly on God’s Grace for Justification in the first view; and the *doubts* rising from a consciousness of our imperfect obedience in the latter*. With respect to which they form two conclusions; the first truly, ‘ that no man let him be never so justified, ought to look upon himself as exempt from keeping the Commandments of God.ⁱ’ For we were not only *washed*, but also *sanctified*, 1 Cor. vi. **II.** the renewing of the Holy Ghost being given to enable us to keep those commandments: but then they unwarrantably ‘ forbad every man to assert this rash proposition, that the observation of these commandments is impossible to one that is justified; and determined, that these commands are not above the strength of man, aided by the assistance of God.^k’ Now, from that concupiscence which they acknowledge to remain in those that are baptized

O 3

to

^g Sess. vi. cap. 9.
vi. cap. 11.

^h Des variat. lib. i.

ⁱ Sess.

^k Sess. vi. cap. 11.

* Credens Christo habet duplicem justitiam, et Christi, propter quam à Deo in gratiam recipitur, et in se inchoatam per Spiritum Sanctum, quæ recepto in gratiam confertur: illam accipit et habet fide tantum, hanc fide et re ipsâ, quanquam imperfectam: illâq; nititur, confidens de gratiâ Dei: hâc minimè, non enim satisfacit ista legi Dei. Disputata Ratisbonæ in altero Colloquio, ann. 1546, p. 222.

to exercise them¹; and from that *considerably diminished and bent down Free Will^m*, which they also grant, the obedience of men is imperfect in various degrees; and accordingly they admit, with no little contradiction, that ‘the justest men fall into daily Sins, which are called Venial.ⁿ’ How then can they say, that obedience is possible to all the justified, which the justest men never performed? but they were constrained to decree these contradictions; for if it were impossible for men to do as much as God requires of them, where would there be room for works of *Supererogation*? and then would fall into bankruptcy that rich Treasury of the Church, which is to deliver from *Purgatory*: And if the justest men could live without falling into Venial Sins, the market for *penances* and *auricular Confession* would be much thinned. If they mean a possibility of keeping the Commandments in an evangelical sense, so as to have their imperfections pardoned for the sake of *Christ’s* satisfaction, that will equally overthrow *Works of Supererogation*; for the obedience of the best being imperfect and accepted only for *Christ’s* sake, they can have no redundancy of merit to overflow to others: nay, could a man do more than would suffice to his Acceptance, that could but encrease his own future happiness, not enable him to transfer any part of his good works to others. And if they mean by *venial Sins*, only those imperfections of obedience which for *Christ’s* sake will be pardoned on such conditions as are required in the Gospel, their market for penances

¹ Sess. v. cap. 5.
cap. 11.

^m Sess. vi. cap. 1.

ⁿ Sess. vi.

nances and auricular Confession will be equally unnecessary.

For in remedy of these imperfections the Scriptures direct us to contrition, Luke xv. 21. xxiv. 47. 1 John i. 8. 9. amendment of life, 2 Cor. vii. 19. Luke iii. 8. Ezek. xviii. 27. and renewal of the Covenant in his blood, Matth. xxvi. 26. Luke xxii. 16, 20. But here the mystery of iniquity works powerfully in the Church of *Rome*; requiring, instead thereof, Confession of our Sins to a Priest, Absolution from him, with Satisfaction by Penance^o: The two first superseding the necessity of Contrition, or that godly sorrow for sin which flows from a love of God; and the last makes amendment needless. For they teach in this Decree, that Contrition, including the love of God, without confession and absolution, or the desire of it, is not sufficient^p; and that Attrition, a sorrow for Sin through fear of punishment, without the love of God, is sufficient: thereby making confession to a Priest and absolution more necessary to remission of Sins, than the Love of God; contrary, not only to Scripture, but to their own Church too, even so late as the beginning of the thirteenth Century, as was seen before from a declaration of Pope *Innocent III.* Confession to God is necessary, both in publick and private; but private confession to a Priest, though we recommend it in cases of doubtful or unquiet consciences^q, we do not injoin as absolutely necessary to salvation. And if the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* can be

O 4 doubted

^o Sess. vi. cap. 14.
manion Service.

^p Sess. xiv. cap. 4.

^q Com-

doubted of in this point, the Jesuits are explicit enough in their decisions ; They teach, that Attrition, from natural motives, and not from the Grace of God, is sufficient for the Sacrament (of Penance) ; and that Contrition, as it effaces Sin by its own efficacy, would leave nothing for that Sacrament to do, and therefore is not at all necessary towards obtaining the principal effect of the Sacrament, but on the contrary is rather an obstacle^r. And consequently that they are not required to love God, is boldly avowed, teaching, that this exemption from loving God is the great benefit or advantage which *Jesus Christ* has brought down upon the Earth, for fear of over-charging the Ungodly, and those that hate God, with too heavy a burthen. So teach *Henriquez, Vasquez, Layman, Lopez* and others^s. And when the Love of God is thus extinguished, no wonder that amendment of life is also evacuated ; 1. by the *satisfaction* of Penance. Where the Good Works (as they are called by Papists) enjoined by the Priest, shall atone for offences against the weightier matters of the law, such as repeting a number of *Pater Nosters, Ave Marias*, going in pilgrimage, wearing habits, and other fanciful impositions, as if they had merit to atone for breaches of the Moral Law ; or 2. by fastings and prayers, which may be performed by substitutes ; or 3. by imposed lashings or other severities, which may be bought off for money. This was one of the great abuses complained of by the *Germans* in their *Centum Gravamina*,^s that they

^r Pasch. Letters, let. x. p. 220.
227. and Allix on Penance.

^s See Pasch. p.

‘ they invented many reformatations not so much to
 ‘ the good of the people, as their own private gain.
 ‘ And that Ecclesiastical judges did extend and ag-
 ‘ gravate the punishments so far, that Laicks were
 ‘ forced to redeme them with money ; by which
 ‘ means the Laicks were impoverished, and the
 ‘ Clergy enriched.’ Which abuse the Council of
Trent established in her Decrees of Justification and
 Penance.

From the same unjust and oppressive thirst of gain
 were derived the following abuses, confirmed by that
 Antichristian Council : *The Sacrifice of the Mass*,
 not commemorating therein the one perfect and suf-
 ficient sacrifice of *Christ*, as the Institutor ordained,
 but making atonement for Sins by the offering of
 the Priest, to be applied for the Salvation of those
 who partook not of it, but who paid the Priest for
 receiving it for them. That it is a *propitiatory* Sa-
 crifice is a novel doctrine even in the Roman Church,
 for *Thomas Aquinas* and *Gabriel Biel*, much later,
 speak of it only as Protestants do, as a *commemoration*,
 representing the Sacrifice of the Cross, and applying
 to worthy receivers the benefits of it, because *the I-*
images of things are called by the names of the things they
represent ; and because by this Sacrament we are made
Partakers of the Benefits of Christ's Passion ^u.

For this reason *Purgatory* was built for invented
 punishments, from which Sinners might be deliver-
 ed, who, by themselves, or their friends, could
 afford to pay their ransom. A Doctrine *unknown*
to the Latin Church, says *Pole's Idol*, Bishop *Fisher*,
 till

^t Cent. Grav. art. lxvi, lxvii.
 Q. 83, Art. c. 1. Respond.

^u Summæ Par. iii.

till lately ; and which to this day is not believed by the Greek^w.

Indulgences were still later, by the confession of the same Writer, as they *began with mens fears of Purgatory*. A remission from the publick penance enjoined by the Church was practiced early, when that primitive discipline prevailed ; but a remission from Sin and the punishment of it in Purgatory, and that too for sale, and on wordly conditions, by the grant of indulgences, was not earlier than the days of *Gregory VII.* to purchase assistance in his Wars against *Henry IV.* After his time they were granted to maintain the Holy Wars ; then periodically every one hundred years, next fifty, now every twenty-five years plenary indulgences are granted ; beside occasionally, as those of *Julius II.* and *Leo X.* for building *St. Peter's* at *Rome*, which occasioned the Reformation. And which the Council of *Trent* established, though they acknowledged *abuses in the Sale of them*^x. The scandalous Sale indeed they forbid : with what effect we may judge by the Pope's Bull granted so late as the year 1729 for raising money to put his late Majesty and the Royal Family to the Sword, of which the purport was as follows ;
 ‘ that every Communicant duly confessing and receiving upon the Patron days of every respective Parish,
 ‘ and any *Sunday* from the 1st of *May* to *September*,
 ‘ having repeted the Lord's Prayer five times, and
 ‘ once the Apostles Creed, *upon paying two pence each*
 ‘ *Time*, was to have a Plenary Indulgence for their
 ‘ Sins

^w Contra Luth. art. 18.
 Trid. lib. xxiv. cap. 8.

^x Sess. xxv. Palav. Con.

‘ Sins: And all approved Confessors had a full power to absolve in all cases. With intent, that God would speedily place King *James* the Third on the Throne of *England*.’ The money so raised was to be paid to the several agents of every Province, who were to remit it to the *Pretender’s* Friends in *England*, *France*, *Germany*, and *Spain*. As appears from the Information of *John Hennessy*, Papist Priest of the United Parishes of *Donerayle* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*’.

For the same purpose (of raising money, I mean) the Council also established the Invocation of Saints, the worship of Images and Reliques. The rich offerings made at the Shrines of those Saints, where their Images or Reliques were worshipped, as was seen before by the annual Sums given at the Shrine of that Rebel of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Becket*, plainly discover the reason of continuing this scandalous abuse. All, not only not supported by Scripture, but contrary to it, and subversive of the Gospel: derogating from the efficacy of *Christ’s* Sacrifice and Intercession, and obstructing the Salvation of Souls by eradicating the Love of God out of them, supplying the defect by a Priest’s Absolution; and extinguishing the necessity of every one’s personal Holiness by teaching them to depend on that of others, applied for money. This practice of worshipping Saints, their Reliques and Images Mr. *Phillips* tells us was observed in the Catholick and Apostolick Church, and received from the earliest times of Christianity

’ A Report from the Committee appointed to inspect the Original Papers, &c. *Mercurii*, 19 Die Decembris, 1733. (In the Irish Parliament.)

‘ty^z;’ but the Jesuit *Salmeron*, who was the Pope’s
 ‘Divine in this Council, admits that the Apostles
 and Evangelists concealed (this now necessary)
 Doctrine from *Jews and Gentiles* : *because it had been*
hard to require it of the former, who had been taught
to worship God only ; and because by it occasion had been
given to the other to think, that many Gods were now offered
them, instead of that multitude of Gods, which they had
forsaken^a. So that this Jesuit thinks that a dishonor to
 God, which was forbidden to the Jews, and is con-
 demned in the Heathens, is the Duty of a Christian.
 We have not so learned Christ : on whose sole me-
 diation we with sure confidence rely, though one of
 their Church says, *one Advocate or Mediator in Hea-*
ven is not sufficient for Mankind, which has so many
causes of the highest and most dangerous consequence de-
pending before God ; Let us make him a meet Help, i. e.
the Blessed Virgin^b.

In the Chapter of Transubstantiation, the Bio-
 grapher says, ‘ the Fathers are silent as to the *man-*
 ‘*ner*, by which the Body of our Lord becomes pre-
 ‘sent in the Eucharist : and in this have set the
 ‘Schools a lesson of that decent reservedness, which
 ‘they ill observed before, and have as little attended
 ‘to since.’ Certainly the Fathers were not silent
 as to the manner by which our Lord becomes pre-
 sent in the Eucharist ; for ch. iv. it says, the Church
 declares, that by the consecration of bread and wine
 there is made a change of the whole substance of
 the bread into the substance of the Body of our Lord,
 and

^z P. 413.

^a Salmer. in 1 Tim. ii. Disp. 8.

^b Henno. in Wicel. Elench. Abus. p. 125.

^c P. 384.

and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood: and this change has been called *Transubstantiation* by the Catholick Church, which is a proper and suitable name for it^d. But if he means, that the Council have not explained *how* this Transubstantiation can possibly be, it is a reservedness that their Church is likely to imitate as long as the World lasts. The ridiculous attempts of the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* in the Council, taught them this prudence: though they quarrelled much about it, the *Dominicans* asserting that the bread was changed into the body of *Jesus Christ*; the *Cordeliers*, that his body succeeded into the place of the evanescent Elements. Both agreed that the Body continued in Heaven without removing, at the same time that it was substantially present in the Eucharist. In Heaven it existed substantially with extension; in the Eucharist, substantially without extension. In Heaven naturally; in the Sacrament, (say the *Cordeliers*) miraculously: (say the *Dominicans*) in a singular way which cannot be expressed by any name that agrees with other modes of existence.^e But while the Fathers seemed ashamed of these absurdities, and chose to be silent as to the manner of Transubstantiation rather than give such unintelligible explications of it, it was reserved for the adventurous pen of Cardinal *Pole* to avow the absurdities, and make them an argument for the truth of his doctrine. For so in his Letter to *Cranmer* he has the hardiness to assert; ‘ you endeavour to avoid the
‘ absurdity

^d Pallav. lib. xii. c. 6. p. 296.
c. 7. p. 105.

^e Du Pin, lib. 3.

‘ absurdity of Transubstantiation, by interpreting it
 ‘ a Sign, (or Sacramental change :) but that this
 ‘ is not the true sense of the Sacrament of the body
 ‘ and blood of *Christ* is proved by this very argu-
 ‘ ment, that such an interpretation is more a-
 ‘ greeable to human reason.’ And again, ‘ we
 ‘ deny not, but that your interpretation is more
 ‘ probable ; but as I often told you, the more
 ‘ probable, the more contrary to the meaning of
 ‘ *Christ*. For nothing leads us further from the
 ‘ meaning of *Christ*’s words in this Sacrament, than
 ‘ an interpretation of them that shall appear proba-
 ‘ ble to our common sense and understanding*.’
 Such was the judgment of this *all-accomplished Church-*
man, who burned his Antagonist for not believing,
 what he not only acknowledged, but, maintained
 was absurd. Since then the Council of *Trent* has
 decreed Doctrines avowedly contrary to the evidence
 of Sense, Reason, and Scripture, to establish errors
 which

* Cum enim Judæi, cum sapientes audiunt panem
 illum et vinum consecratum converti in corpus et san-
 guinem Christi, id illis ita videtur absurdum, ut nihil ab
 humano ingenio excogitari possit absurdius. Tu verò
 ad hoc absurdum tollendum, sic rem interpreteris, ut di-
 cas, panem et vinum esse tantum signa, quibus admone-
 mur mortis Christi, quam pro nobis passus est : Atqui
 hunc non esse verum de Sacramento corporis et sanguinis
 Christi sensum, vel hoc ipsum declarat, quod is humanæ
 rationi magis accommodatus est. Pol. de Eucharist. p.
 22. à tergo. — Quæ de hoc Sacramento dicis, proba-
 biliter dici non negamus ; sed quo probabilius, ut sæpe
 jam dixi, eo magis est à Christi sententiâ alienum. Nihil
 enim longius à sensu verborum Christi in hoc Sacramento
 nos retrahit, quam quæ sensui et intellectui nostro proba-
 bilis offertur interpretatio verborum Christi. Ibid. p. 44.

which the Christian World complained of and called aloud to have reformed, the deluded Nations had reason to resent this imperious treatment and *come out of Babylon, that they be not partakers of her Sins*^f. The end and scope of the Council is thus given by one of their own Communion, ‘ this was the Issue and ‘ aim of the *Trent* Reformation, that no respect ‘ should be had to truth, but to show, and outward ‘ pomp only; and that all things should be referred to the splendor and profit of the Roman Court*.

In the reigns of *Henry* and *Edward*
 §. 20. *Reflections on K. Henry and Duke of Somerset.* Mr. *Phillips* is extremely abusive; I shall leave him to a scourge severer than any with which I can lash him, let the rancour of his own heart be his punishment: how false he has been in these reflections, will, I dare say, be shewn by others; how injudicious he has been in singling some of his instances, perhaps he himself is not aware of. In blackening *Henry's* reign he tells us, he had ‘ already followed him through the various scenes of ‘ guilt which diversified the several periods of it, after he had left the laudable path in which he first ‘ set out.^g’ But where are we to find this laudable part in Mr. *Phillips's* account of him? he tells us, an ‘ im-

^f Revel. xviii. 4. ^g P. 430.

* Hic Tridentinæ Reformationis fuit exitus et scopus, ut nihil ad veritatem, sed in quandam speciem et pompam externam, atq; ad privatum Curiae Romanæ splendorem et commodum cuncta referrentur. Richerus, Hist. Conc. General. lib. iv. p. 245, 246.

‘ immoderate propension to pleasure, which went
 ‘ through his whole reign, *distinguished the beginning of*
 ‘ *it*, and he had scarce filled the throne, when the
 ‘ Court, from a scene of sordid frugality, which it
 ‘ had been in his Father’s time, immediately became
 ‘ the seat of voluptuousness and prodigality.^h’ Such,
 according to Mr. *Phillips*, was the laudable part
 of his life! *Pole*’s artifice was to render *Henry* odious
 by contrasting the dark part of his character after his
 defection from *Rome*, with the brilliancy in which he
 had shone before: his Biographer, with the same
 malevolence, blunders in the execution, and spoiled
 the contrast, by painting him black from beginning
 to end.

He gives us an obscure account from *Pole* of the
 King’s breach of faith; when, or to whom is not
 mentioned. As I by no means intend to vindicate
 all *Henry*’s actions, so neither can I give credit to
Pole upon so indistinct a charge against him. I design
 not to enquire into the fact, whether true or false:
 but I am surprised at Mr. *Phillips*’s indiscretion in
 characterising this supposed breach of faith in the
 manner he does; for if it proves that ‘ the disposi-
 ‘ tion of those *guilty* of it are the pattern of com-
 ‘ plete worthlessnessⁱ:’ then the treatment of *John*
Huss, and the collusive safe-conduct intended for
 the German Protestants in the Council of *Trent*, are
 notorious testimonies of the complete worthlessness
 of the Church of *Rome*, by the concession of this
 strenuous and able Advocate.

In reporting the death of *Henry* he tells us, ‘ that
 ‘ his end approaching, he called for a large draught
 of

^h P. 29.

ⁱ P. 443.

of white Wine, and, turning to the person who presented it, said, *all was lost*, and having drank off the goblet, gave up the ghost. And that in his last moments he was overheard to mutter often the word *Monk*, the natural result of a mind labouring with guilt, and haunted by those spectres, which the wrongs he had done to that body of men, raised.^k When these last moments were, in which he muttered often the word *Monk*, will be hard to find ; whether they were before those when he called for wine, despaired, drank off the goblet, and gave up the ghost, or, as they stand in his Narrative, after he had given up the ghost : *Sanders*, from whom he borrows the substance of this Romance, though a false witness, yet delivers his evidence with more consistency ; after drinking the wine, with his dying voice he was heard to mutter the word *Monks*, and so expired*. It is this Biographer's misfortune to pick up the most malicious anecdotes he can, from the worst authorities, and then render them more ridiculous by his affectation of improving them. The Fact appears to have been otherwise, upon much better evidence than *Sanders*, one of those Writers, whose reports *Quirini* and our Biographer from him (though without naming *Sanders*) rejects, as destitute of foundation. Thus he reports a false fact on purpose to infer uncharitably a guilty conscience haunted-

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* P. 435.

* Cum de instanti mortis articulo ab amicis admone-
retur, pateram vini albi poposcit, atque ad unum e
suis conversus, omnia (inquit) perdidimus ; inter mor-
tuis deinde vocibus monachorum nomen aliquoties in-
geminasse dicitur, atque ita expirasse. De Schismate
Anglicano, lib. i.

ed by spectres, raised by the wrongs which he had done the Monks. How then will he interpret the real terrors of *Crescentio*, the Pope's Legate at the Council of *Trent*; who, having been concerned in the secret villanies of that association, condemned the Protestants without hearing their defence, concealed the Confession they had delivered to him to communicate to the Council, and planned that treacherous safe-conduct above-mentioned, in the midst of these transactions was seized with frenzy by the vision or apprehension of a great black dog, making at him, which could not be found, and died, crying out to those who were about him to beat off the dog that clambered up upon the bed¹. Was this the natural result of a mind laboring with guilt, and haunted by those spectres, which the wrongs he had done to the Protestants raised? If so, the Council of *Trent* will stand condemned: if Mr. *Phillips* resolves it into distemper of body, then *Henry* might have muttered, *Monks*, in his last moments, without its being the natural result of a mind laboring with guilt. But Mr. *Phillips* has reported a false fact on purpose to infer an uncharitable Conclusion: I have reported a true fact, but have more charity than to judge the heart with which I am unacquainted.

Mentioning some pious works of *Henry*, at his close of life, among the rest, his suppressing the stews on the Bankside, he says, they 'have an æquivocal resemblance of goodness^m:' So loath is he to allow any thing good in this Prince. Yet sure he must allow, that if the suppressing the stews had only an æquivocal resemblance of goodness, the intention of *Pole* to

¹ Sleid. B. xxiii. ad calcem.

■ P. 435.

to erect them again after they had been suppressed, had not so much as any resemblance of goodness at all in it.

The last instance of this kind I shall mention is in King *Edward's* reign; representing a picture of impious greatness, in which ‘ the Reader may view, ‘ in one single group, all the different images, of ‘ which rapine can be composed.ⁿ’ *Somerset House*, he tells us, ‘ was built on the ruins of the Deanery ‘ and Close of *Westminster*, of the Parish Church of ‘ the Virgin *Mary*, and of three Episcopal Houses.^o’ Now this is news to us, that *Somerset House* should stand at once in the Close at *Westminster*, and in the Strand too: but if he had attended to his Historian, *Heylin*, or to the Popish Book, entitled, *Historical Collections out of several grave Protestant Historians*, printed in 1674, from which I rather suppose he snatched it, he would see that it is expressly taken notice of that the Protector, intending to erect a magnificent Palace, was bought out of his design of building it on the Deanery and Close of *Westminster*, and therefore cast his eyes upon a piece of ground in the Strand. Among other Mistakes, he has forgot to mention the blowing up the Church of St. *John* of *Jerusalem* near *Smithfield*, mentioned by *Heylin*, and the curious Bell-Tower belonging to it, mentioned by *Stowe*. This I mention from a regard to truth, to perfect that detail of impious greatness, of which our Biographer supposes ‘ the whole Records of ‘ Christianity do not furnish another such example.^p’ What, no example of impious Greatness, that employed Church Materials for building a stately Palace to itself? How came St. *Peter's* at *Rome* to be so long

P 2

in

* P. 443.

° P. 444.

p Ibid.

in building, when *Europe* had been exhausted for the purpose? a *Benedictine* Monk informs us, notwithstanding the countless treasures left to *Leo X.* by *Julius II.* to go on with this noble structure, and the money diligently heaped up from every quarter by the sale of Indulgences, under pretext of this magnificent building, the work went slowly on; for the stones that were provided for it, and sawed out in the day, were conveyed away in the night, for the erecting for himself the superb Florentine Medicean Palace*. Thus the Vicar of *Christ* abused the piety of Christians, and impoverished them to feed his own pride, and converted the materials intended to *St. Peter's* Honor, to his own. Whereas *Somerset*, except the Parish Church of *St. Mary le Strand*, used only the old materials of Houses and desecrated piles of stone; for the districts belonging to *St. Ewen* and *St. Nicholas* had been added to the Parish of *Christ-Church* by King *Henry*, so that those Churches remained without use; and that of *St. James of Jerusalem* had been converted into a storehouse for toiles, tents, and implements of War by the same King. So that while *Somerset* House was built from useless heaps of stone

* Præterea ex cunctis fidelium regionibus, præsertim Germania mediantibus indulgentiorum commissariis, sub specie fabricæ basilicæ Sancti Petri pecuniam omnimodis aggregare ferventissime annisus est: tametsi ad dictæ fabricæ consummationem prædecessor suus Julius Papa, qui eandem operosè et magnificè inceptarat, thesaurum reliquerit innumerabilem. Nihil secius et lentè et segnitè cœptum opus progreditur. Nec mirum, cum lapides secti indie, noctu (ut dicitur) ad palatium grande Florentinorum de Medicis dictum, quod nunc construitur, clam deferantur. Paulus Langius in Chronico Citizenfi, fol. 897.

stone, the *Medicean* Palace was reared by seizing the materials intended for God's House; and while the Duke of *Somerset* injured only three Bishops, rapacious *Leo* cheated all *Europe*.

§. 21. Pole, *a Candidate for the Papacy.* The Cardinal's conduct in the Conclave with relation to the Papacy, which his Historian says, was an example of Moderation which he had neither heard or read of before; and which the Conclavists could resolve into nothing but insensibility, is easily accounted for by the leading point he always had in view, and his wonted irresolution whether to accept or refuse a tempting offer, which was inconsistent with a greater in expectation. Therefore, when the Papacy was proposed to him, choosing rather to wear a crown inheritable by his Descendents, than the barren honors of the Papacy which must die with him, he was no more affected, as himself declares, than if he had been one of those animals, who do not covet honors, because they have no perception of them.^a When *Farnese* brought him word, that a sufficient number had *acceded* to give him the Papacy, and desired him to receive the homage which is paid on the like occasions, he desired to put it off to the next morning: but the near prospect of that high honor now beginning to operate, when two others of the sacred College came to him on the same Commission, he assented to do as they would have him; but they were no sooner gone, than his first views returning, he repented of the assent he had given, and sent one of his Domesticks

P 3

to

^a P. 432.

to entreat those Cardinals, whose authority was greatest, that the affair, if possible, might be put off till next morning. He found it possible enough ; for disgusted at his irresoluteness, which endangered the influence and weight of his Friends, they all forsook him, and chose another. The ambition of the *Yorkist*, and the *Dappocaggine* or fickleness peculiar to himself, account for this whole conduct ; which instead of being an unexampled moderation void of all ambition, was only the suspense of his mind divided betwixt two objects of that passion. One of which was his great aim, and in the pursuit of it, he acted violently and like a madman ; the possession was so strong, that it forced him to behave contrary to his natural bent, which was meek and gentle ; and urged him to attempts, which made his friends, who knew his natural good sense, to wonder at his rashness. And if any other bait to his ambition interfered, which appeared not consistent with his principal, but distant view, though it was not strong enough to make him eager to lay hold of it, yet it drew his attention and left him indetermined. The Princess *Mary* was still living, still unmarried. After the seditions in *England* were quelled, and the Princes of *Europe* had shewn, that they chose rather to make him their Dupe, than be themselves Dupes to him, he had no hopes left during the reign of *Henry* : yet no sooner did he hear of the King's death, than his infatuation revived, and being then at *Rome* with the Pope he easily obtained to be appointed his Legate to *England* (if they would receive him) to restore his hopes in that Kingdom. He therefore writes to the Counsellors, ‘ That although he had heard of the King's death, yet he knew not to whom the reins
‘ of

‘ of government were committed, nor what was the
 ‘ state of things in that Kingdom: yet he knew
 ‘ whatever was to be done, or had been done, must
 ‘ be confirmed in Parliament. And several things
 ‘ occurring to him of great importance, which, if
 ‘ they did not consider and determine as justice and
 ‘ piety perswaded, the whole Kingdom would be in
 ‘ the utmost danger; He therefore sent them this
 ‘ notice by a special messenger, lest any delay might
 ‘ prevent the reception of his salutary advice. Then
 ‘ mentioning his pretended private injuries, which
 ‘ were the just punishment of his seditious behaviour,
 ‘ he returns to the publick concerns; on which he
 ‘ offers them his advice, under the influence of his
 ‘ Holiness, who, he assures them, is able and wil-
 ‘ ling to protect them, through the ministration of
 ‘ himself (*Pole*) who is very capable of giving them
 ‘ good advice, and to afford them a proper remedy,
 ‘ provided they will be but as ready to receive, as he
 ‘ is to give them both.’ But whatever changes in
 government, or the administration of it, his frenzy
 might dream of, the Council would not receive either
 his messenger or his letters. What were the par-
 ticulars of the advice he would have given, I have no
 authority to say; but that in general it was for the
 interest of the Princess *Mary*, I think appears from a
 Letter of his to her, afterwards, when she became
 Queen, in which he tells her, ‘ he had never omit-
 ‘ ted any opportunity of endeavouring to serve her,
 ‘ although his endeavours had not succeeded.’ These
 frequent disappointments, and the deaths of his chief
Italian Friends, and the Marchioness of *Pescara*,
 P 4 funk

sunk him into a despair and disrelish of the world, from which, and from his government at *Viterbo*, he obtained the Pope's leave to retire. But dead to the World as he appeared to be; no sooner did the Princess *Mary* come to the crown of *England*, than all his disgust of it vanished, the train of ambition caught fire, he shook off all his Monkery, and again condescends to be employed in publick business, and to be sent Legate into *England*: His beloved and loving Princess wore the crown; with whom did she appear more inclined to share it than with him, who had hitherto kept himself out of Priest's Orders, that his return to the secular World might not be impracticable? a permission to lay down the Purple before entering into the Priesthood being to be obtained without much difficulty: though he had labored at the time, that even that difficulty might not have lain in his way. Accordingly in the *English* Councils he was one of the three proposed for the new Queen's Husband*. But the Emperour, who intended her for his Son, *Philip II.* of *Spain*, one of those three, and was no stranger to *Pole's* designs, counteracted them, and prevented his going over into *England*, till the Queen's marriage with his Son was effected. This *Dudithius* does not scruple to acknowledge, as well as *Beccatelli*, ' *Cæsar*, ' says he, as it afterwards appeared, was desirous ' that

* Il estoit bien informé qu'il y avoit des gens dans Londres, qui vouloient que la Reine épousast le Cardinal Polus. On disoit que la Reine mesme n'avoit pas fort rejetté celle proposition, & qu'elle avoit demandé à Commendon, si le Pape pouvoit dispenser un Cardinal Diacre pour le mariage. La Vie du Cardin. Commendon, par M. Flechier, l. 1. c. 12.

‘ that the Queen should be married to his Son *Philip*.
 ‘ Which marriage the *English* did not approve : nor
 ‘ was *Cæsar* ignorant, how much the Queen, and
 ‘ many leading men in *England* favored *Pole* ; he
 ‘ therefore took care that *Pole*’s visit there should
 ‘ not obstruct that marriage ; and kept him in ex-
 ‘ pectation of a fit time, till the Parliament had
 ‘ consented to her marrying King *Philip*.’ Thus
 we see the master spring of all his actions, which
 had imprest a motion upon another principal wheel,
 which he judged necessary to effect his purpose : this
 was to maintain the Pope’s Supremacy in order to
 avale himself of his power and influence. When
 this main aim was defeated by the marriage of *Philip*,
 the other point, which he had pursued in order to
 obtain it, grew itself into an object ; and could not
 with credit be deserted, especially when so fair an
 opportunity offered of attaining it, and at the same
 time invited him to ample honors and provisions in
 his native Country, from which having been so long
 exiled, he was not so insensible, as not to desire to
 return to it again in triumph.

Such was *Reginald Pole*, to whom
 §. 22. *The* the candor of the Protestants has
Biographer’s ap- given credit, for gentleness of man-
parent aim in ners, piety, and learning : whose
this performance. ashes Mr. *Phillips* has imprudently
 disturbed, and by provoking a scrutiny into his
 principles, prevented that oblivion into which his
 injured Countrymen were suffering his name to sink,
 and awakened him to everlasting infamy. Had Mr.
Phillips

Phillips indulged his veneration for *Reginald Pole*, by a panegyrick on his noble birth, meek disposition, and polite accomplishments, though his praise had risen to a strain which sobriety of thought could not always approve, yet, I suppose, none would have disturbed him in scattering with a full hand the richest flowers of his rhetorick: but he disdained a respect which would have been of so little use to the cause he undertook. *Pole's* merit with this loyal *English* Subject, in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, was his base ingratitude to his Benefactor whom he supposed to be an Heretick; his traitorous attempts to deprive the King of his Supremacy; and his servile endeavours to submit the necks of his countrymen to a foreign yoke. Such virtues have recommended him to the Idolatry of his Biographer; who is not ashamed to propose him to his fellow-subjects as ‘*a spectacle the most worthy the Supreme Being of any beneath the seats in bliss.*’ And the stronger to inculcate the lesson he wishes to teach, the like merits have made him consecrate that Arch-Rebel and Incendiary *Thomas Becket* into a Saint^w. And to step many years forward, beyond the limits of his History, on purpose to exalt those seditious Papists, who would have assassinated Queen *Elizabeth*, into Martyrs. In their defence indeed, he says, ‘the treason which has been imputed to some of them, before the year 1588, is sufficiently refuted by their protestation at the scaffold, of their inviolable fidelity to the Queen, whom they acknowledged for their rightful Sovereign, and prayed for her, by whose orders they were executed.’^x I presume they

* Pref. p. viii.

^w P. 226, 230.^x P. 428.

they were not executed for acknowledging her Sovereignty, or for praying for her ; but because, notwithstanding such hypocritical prayers, they plotted and attempted to destroy Her whom they acknowledged their rightful Sovereign. *Pole* always acknowledged K. *Henry* as his rightful Sovereign ; yet devoted himself to the service of a foreign Priest, and was his messenger to carry about *Europe* his Bulls for excommunicating and deposing the Prince to whom he made protestations of an inviolable fidelity : nay, in his return from that traiterous embassy, as he tells King *Edward*, he poured forth prayers and tears for him : but they must have been as counterfeit as was the Saint at whose tomb he offered them ; as the Bull for discharging the King's Subjects from their allegiance was then in his pocket. But to give a specimen of these applauded Martyrs I beg leave to introduce Dr. *William Parry* to Mr. *Phillips's* acquaintance, who was prevailed upon to reconcile himself to the Church of *Rome*, and undertake to kill the Queen, if the Pope or any of his Divines would prove it lawful. A brace of Cardinals were employed in this pious Work. *Allen's* Book was sent him from *France*, teaching, ‘ that Kings may
‘ be excommunicated, deprived, and violently hand-
‘ led ; and proving that all war, civil or foreign, un-
‘ dertaken for Religion is honorable.’ And *Como* sent him word from *Rome*, 30 Jan. 1584, that his Holiness praised his purpose, and exhorted him to put it in practice. ‘ And to the end you may be the more
‘ aided by that good Spirit, which hath induced you
‘ to this, his Blessedness granteth you full pardon and
‘ forgiveness of all your sins, as you requested : assuring
‘ you that beside the merit that you shall receive in Hea-
‘ ven,

‘*ven, his Holiness will make himself a further Debtor,*
‘*to acknowledge your deservings in the best manner that*
‘*he may.*’ I shall give the Letter itself, to vouch for
the genuine principles of the Church of *Rome*, in
private instructions to their Converts, not what they
dress up for publick shew*. At the gallows he
boasted of his having preserved the Queen; but his
prayers she could not expect, as this pious martyr
offered up none for himself^y. What credit can be
given to the Protestation of men in communion with
this Church, which absolves from all obligation,
and gives licence for the most execrable villanies?
This is a taste of that ‘surprising change which
‘the regulations of the Council wrought^z:’ and
if these disorders must with truth be acknowledged
to

^y Camden, Q. Eliz. p. 308. ^z P. 428.

* Mon Signore, la Santita de N. S. ha veduto le
lettere di V. S. del primo con la fede inclusa, & non
puo se non laudare la buona disposittione & resolutione,
che scrive di tenere verso il servitio et beneficio publico,
nel che la Santita sua lefforta di perseverare con farne
riuscire li effetti che V. S. promette. Et accioche tanto
maggiormente V. S. sia ajutata da quel buon spirito
che l’ ha mosso, le concede sua Beneditione, plenaria
indulgenza & remissione di tutti li peccati, secondo che
V. S. ha chiesto, assicurandossi che oltre il merito, che
n’havera in ciolo vuo, le anco sua santita constituirsi
debitore a riconoscere li meriti di V. S. in ogni miglior
modo che potra, & cio tanto piu, quanto che V. S. usa
maggior modestia in non pretender mente. Metta dunque
ad effetto li suoi santi & honorati pensieri, & attendo
astar sano. Che per fine io me le offero di core, & le
desidero ogni buono & felice successi. Di Roma 30 di
Genuaro. M.D.LXXXIV. Al piacer di V. S. N. Cardi-
nale di Como. Al Sig. Guglielmo Parri. Camdeni An-
nales Elisabethæ. Hearne.

to have been infinitely less than they were before ; our Fore-fathers had just reason to pray, *From the Bishop of Rome and his detestible enormities, Good Lord deliver us!* The taking so much pains, and lavishing so much Oratory to recommend such Heroes to the admiration of his *English* Readers, gives us a sight of the scope at which Mr. *Phillips* aims in this Performance ; and is an ungrateful return to the moderation of his Governours, under which he acknowledges himself to be happy ^a.

Mr. *Phillips* begins his second Part with an illustrious comparison of his Hero to the Sun, in which the point of similitude is, that neither the Sun, nor the Cardinal ended their career before they had got half way. ‘ He was engaged in that lucid path, which did not end till it brought him to the meridian of the career, which Providence appointed him to accomplish. ^b’ This I had left unnoticed to the applause of the Admirers of his embroidered stile, unless he had intimated to his *English* Readers, that this was the meaning of *Prov. iv. 28.* Edit. Vulg. But to rescue Scripture from this Gentleman’s misinterpretation, I must deny that *Solomon* ever made so idle an observation ; he says, according to the Vulgate, *the path of just men, like the shining light, goeth on and encreaseth unto the perfect day :* not a word of ending its career before it got to the meridian : that flower is an exotick of Mr. *Phillips* own raising : but, the blunder in referring to the 28th verse of a Chapter

^a P. 428.

^b P. 1.

Chapter that has only 27, I am willing to give to his unlicensed press at *Oxford*: it should be, *Prov. iv. 18.*

The observation which follows, that ‘*Edward VI.* died on the sixth of *July*, the same day of the same month, on which his Father had put Sir *Thomas More* to death,’ is no less curious and interesting; intimating, that *Edward* was punished, for the beheading Sir *Thomas More* before he was born; and that *Henry* suffered, six years after he was dead, by the loss of his Son: he might, with at least equal pertinency, have observed, that the sixth of *July*, the day on which *Edward* died, was auspicious to *Mary*, it being the very day, which the *Romans* had dedicated to *Female good fortune*, or *Fortuna fœminina*; and also fatal to the Protestants, being the same day of the same month on which *John Huss* had been burnt at *Prague* above a hundred and thirty years before: a diary of memorable events for two or three Centuries back might be of great use to this Biographer, in embellishing future Histories, and assist him in fabricating judgments, of which he seems extremely fond.

In giving an account of the Messengers and Letters that passed preparatory to the Legates coming over into *England*, the thread of the History is much entangled from mistakes, blunders, and great inaccuracies. He informs us that *Pole* sent his Letter to the Queen by a special messenger, ‘who had orders to call on the Cardinal *Dandalo*, the Papal Ambassador at the Emperour’s Court, which was then kept at *Brussels*; and who, being in the neighbourhood

‘ neighbourhood of *England*, might send him more
 ‘ certain intelligence than he could have at so great a
 ‘ distance. *Dandalo* on this dispatched his Secretary
 ‘ into *England*, who having frequent conferences
 ‘ with the Queen, and informed himself of the pre-
 ‘ sent temper of the people, went back towards
 ‘ the end of *August*.^d Would not any body sup-
 pose that *Dandalo*’s Secretary went over into *England*,
 in order to get certain intelligence to send back to
Pole? Yet that could not be the fact; *Pole*’s Letter
 was dated at *Maguza* the 13 *Aug.* (for that is the
 meaning of the Biographer’s *Ibid Sex*^e; it should be
Idibus Sextilis) but on that very day *Dandalo*’s Se-
 cretary was in *London* at *Bourne*’s Sermon, and
 staid there till the day after *Northumberland*’s
 execution, which was on the 22d *Aug.* for so we are
 informed by *Gratiani* in his *Life of Commendone*,
 who was the Secretary mentioned. The rest of the
 Paragraph is no less obscure; where, having told us
 that the Secretary (*Commendone*) ‘ by an almost incre-
 ‘ dible expedition, performed the journey from *Brus-*
 ‘ *sels* to *Rome* within nine days, he adds, He called
 ‘ on Cardinal *Pole*, who was still in the Monastery
 ‘ near *Benacus*; and the Messenger he (*Pole*) had
 ‘ sent to the Queen delivered him her Majesty’s An-
 ‘ swer to his Letter.^f’ Here one would think *Cam-*
mendone and *Pole*’s Messenger travelled together.
 This could not be: for the incredible expedition
 of *Commendone* must carry him to *Maguza*, three
 hundred miles short of *Rome*, very early in *Septem-*
ber; a month before the Queen wrote the Letter,
 which the Messenger carried, who is represented
 travelling

^d Second part, p. 6, 7. ^e P. 6. ^f P. 7.

travelling with him ; for the date of the Queen's Letter, according to the Biographer, was 6 *Oct.* It should be four days later, 6 *Id. Oct.* But this very careful Historian who acknowledges the Reader's claim to accuracy even in trifles, is frequently blundering about dates, and his classical pen is apt to mistake the number of the *Ides* and *Kalends* for the number of the days of the month.

The message on which *Commendone* was sent into *England*, was not, as Mr. *Phillips* relates at page 7, on Cardinal *Pole's* account ; but as the same Mr. *Phillips* relates at page 28, to propose the Emperour's Son's match to the Queen in a private audience ; and to magnify, on his return to *Rome*, the danger of sending, as yet, a Legate. Both contrary to the designs of *Pole's* Letter to the Queen, which were to remind her of her obligations to him for what he had done and suffered in her service ; and to hasten her to acknowledge the Pope's authority, which he represents as the head of God's Laws, for which purpose he was coming over as Legate from his Holiness. The Queen had three persons proposed to her for her choice in a Husband ; the handsome *Courtney*, whom she is reported to have preferred ; but he provoked her resentment by preferring her Sister, the Princess *Elisabeth* : her old friend and relation *Pole*, to whom the people were said to be rather inclined, and the Queen's gratitude at least made her inquire of *Commendone*, whether a Deacon (for Cardinal *Pole* had hitherto avoided Priest's Orders,) might be dispensed with, and permitted to marry : the third was *Phillip*, many years younger than herself, who, being able to bring the Emperour's power to her assistance

ance, against *France* whom she feared, by the intrigues of *Gardiner*, was made choice of, to the great regret of the people. To prevent *Pole's* influence over *Mary*, the Emperour detained him from *England* till after her marriage with *Phillip* was over. So that *Pole's* views to the Crown were at least so far suspected by the Emperour, as to oblige him to use his power and his cunning to disappoint them. These views, wild as they were, founded perhaps on Queen *Catherine's* wishes, are the key which unlocks his character. This might make him declaim against the impiety of the Divorce, which yet he acknowledged at least a problematical question ;—but it debarred *Mary* from the Crown : This might make him account the Pope's Supremacy as the first and great commandment, though he could not find it in his Bible ;—because none else could pretend an authority over *Henry*, to oblige him to continue in his first indecent marriage, and thereby confirm the legitimacy of *Mary* : This might make him pretend to commiserate *Henry* on his breach with the Pope and the Emperour, as the greatest danger into which he could fall ;—to fright him into a reconciliation, the terms of which he hoped, (by the means of his friends at *Rome*) in some measure to direct : this would chagrine him to the last degree, when he heard the reconciliation was going on without his privity : This might make him angry that the King was not excommunicated ;—in order to drive him into conditions : this might make him plead as a merit to the King, his deferring that excommunication ; when he hoped, by his address in negotiations, he might obtain his ends without it : This was sufficient to make him

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fawn

fawn and bully, soothe and threaten, write apologies, and raise seditions, to persuade or compel the King into his measures : professedly shaking his Crown on pretence of fixing it, with remainder to himself ; and putting him in danger of being damned by excommunication, in order to save his soul, by teaching him to repent of the injury he had done his Daughter, and by making restitution. Wavering in his measures, as whim, incidents, or the persuasion of friends, might suggest ; but steady to his one point, which he never lost sight of, till totally defeated by *Philip's* marriage with the Queen : For this, we may suppose, he declined the Cardinalate, lest it should make his own marriage with her difficult : this would make him refuse Priesthood and even the Papacy, lest it should render it impracticable. But when the Queen married a young man, at a time when he himself was fifty-four, he changed his plan, took Priest's Orders, and condescended to accept of the See of *Canterbury*, with a thousand a year reserved rent out of the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. As to Religious principles, his abhorrence of many Popish errors and corruptions on the one hand*, and his

* Beside his concurrence with his eight Collegues in pointing out and censuring those corruptions, Lucas Osiander multos ait, qui hunc Cardinalem familiarius noverant, judicasse, eum neque ignoravisse, neque in corde suo improbavisse evangelicam doctrinam : sed eò vehementius eam persecutum, ut Lutheranismi suspicionem à se quam longissimè removeret. In epitome Hist. Eccles. Cent. XVI. p. 660, Teste Joanne Wolfio in lectionibus memorabilibus et reconditis quidam affirmant, Polum Evangelio omninò addictum fuisse, sed ut suspicionem Lutheranismi evitaret, et Cardinalis à Papâ crearetur, librum pro sede Romanâ in lucem emisisse.
Passim

his long attachment and obligations to the Pope on the other, would probably have made it not difficult for him to have returned to his own Country, whether *Mary* or *Elizabeth* held the reins. *Mary*, *Canterbury*, and the suspicions against him, determined him to be a persecuting Papist: had *Elizabeth* succeeded during *Paul IV*th's rigorous treatment of him, the Cardinal perhaps would have been as irresolute whether he should acknowledge or reject that Pope, as he was, whether he should send or burn the Libel which he had written against him*.

Previous to the History of Queen *Mary*'s reign our Biographer thinks it not improper to give some account of her character; if the proofs of her other excellencies be as lame as that which he produces for evidence of her having made a considerable progress in writing Latin, under the *Quintilian* of those times, *Ludovicus Vives*, he might have been excused from losing sight of his principal figure to pay his compliments to her; for all the proofs he gives of her writing tolerably well in that language, are, ' the ' inaccuracies of a Letter to Cardinal *Pole*, which ' is preserved in the *Bodleian Library*.^g' As to the inaccuracies, they are at Mr. *Phillips*'s service to prove her considerable progress in the art of writing Latin: but the address is mistaken; it is indeed published

Q 2

g P. 11.

Passim etiam Petrus Paulus Vergerius, cui probè cognitus erat Polus, eum de religione aliud sentire ac loqui solitum, hoc nomine acerbè, sed præter meritum, à Joanne Casâ reprehensus. Schelhorne Amænit. Hist. Eccles. vol. 1. p. 154.

* See Phillips, part 2. pag. 105.

lished in the *Sylloge Epistolarum*, p. 122. as written to Cardinal *Pole*, but for the Princess's honor, in her riper years, the contents and those inaccuracies prove it to have been a juvenile performance, addressed to her Godfather Cardinal *Wolsey*.

He likewise praises her eloquence, in a speech which she made to the Citizens on *Wyatt's* rebellion, equal, says Mr. *Phillips*, to any recorded by the Greek or Roman Historians^h. But unwilling to trust it in its native beauties, he has new dressed it in language of his own; so that he pays the compliment to Himself. But that the Queen may have her share of praise, I shall give the Reader her Exordium in her own words; *I am come unto you in mine own person, to tell you that which already you see and know. Dixin' ego in hoc inesse vobis Atticam eloquentiam?* said the Parasite *Gnatho* of his bubble *Thraso*; and so *Winchester* exclaimed at the end of her speech, *O how happy are we, to whom God hath given such a wise and learned Prince!*

As this insurrection occasioned the death of that excellent young Lady, whom the wicked policy of *Northumberland* had raised to a crown, not for her own, but for his ambitious purposes, it is with pleasure I embrace the opportunity Mr. *Phillips* gives me of acknowledging the justice he does to her character. *Si sic omnia dixisset*, had he been as just in all his other characters of those whom he praises or condemns, he had saved me much pain in reading, and much trouble in pointing out his partialities. In relating her story, by a strange inattention, he calls her by her Mother's maiden name, the Lady *Jane Brandon*; but the

the only censure which falls from his pen on her account, is indeed no reflexion on *Her*, and was rather meant to fall on the *Church of England*; to whom, if any censure is due, it rather belongs, for recommending to all of her Communion, the study and knowledge of the Scriptures. He says, ‘ to great beauty, and all
 ‘ the softer accomplishments of female education, she
 ‘ had joined the knowledge of the learned languages,
 ‘ and had given much time and application to the
 ‘ Scriptures; a study, which however undertaken
 ‘ by the Sex on a specious principle of seeking
 ‘ Truth, but too often betrays them into errors, or
 ‘ confirms them in those they have already imbibed.’

But what he means as a reproach on *our Church* proves unluckily a severe one on his *own*; for it is a frank Confession, that if persons of learning and a blameless character seek Truth in the Scriptures, it is likely to make them desert Popery, or preserve them effectually from returning to it. This (although he calls such desertion *error*) I think implies a concession, that the Popish Doctrines are unscriptural, and their Discipline contrary to the Gospel precepts. And accordingly the Queen at her accession, in favor of Popery, and to suppress the scriptural religion of the Protestants, as the most effectual way to obtain both these ends, ‘ strictly charged and commanded
 ‘ all and every of her Subjects, of whatever state,
 ‘ condition, or degree, that none of them presume
 ‘ from henceforth to preach, or by way of reading
 ‘ in Churches, or other publick or private places,
 ‘ except in Schools of the University, *to interpret or*
 ‘ *teach any Scriptures, or any manner of points of*
 ‘ doctrine

Q 3

‘ doctrine concerning Religion.^k’ She indeed calls these interpretations a little before, *after their own brain*; but that those words include and were meant to prohibit the plane, literal, and real sense, is manifest from inhibiting, in the same proclamation, ‘ interpreting the laws of this realm after their brains and ‘ fancies ;’ which were the laws of *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* against Popery expressly, and which were not yet repealed. This was, by her own sole authority, unaided by Parliament, to suppress the Bible, and abrogate the Laws of the land. None could proclaim the protection of the Laws in being, for they were to lie dead without meaning ; and Judge *Hales*, who had strenuously supported those Laws in her favor, to raise her to the Crown, was by her thrown into prison, for putting those Laws, yet unrepealed and in force, into execution : where he was treated so harshly, that he had no way to avoid his tortures but by professing her Religion ; nor of escaping the terrors of conscience here for having done so, but by escaping out of life. All the Tyrannies of *Henry’s* long reign were meekness and mildness in comparison of this single Act of the imperious Queen *Mary*. Nay, after she had dropped the Title of her Supremacy in Church matters, she acted in virtue of it ; issuing articles of reformation to the Bishop of *London*, before the Pope’s Supremacy was restored ; if neither God nor the Pope gave her this authority, from what source did she derive it ? Truth will out : she vindicates her Supremacy over causes and persons ecclesiastical, in the very Act in which she disclaimed it. ‘ Remembring, says she, our Duty to ‘ Almighty God, to be to foresee (as much as in us ‘ may

^k Fox, Q. Mary, p. 16.

‘ may be) that all virtue and godly living should be
 ‘ embraced, flourish and increase,---for these causes
 ‘ ye shall be charged with our especial command-
 ‘ ment by these our Letters, to the intent you and
 ‘ your officers may the more earnestly and boldly
 ‘ procede---without fear---or danger. And then
 ‘ she commands every Bishop and his officers, with
 ‘ all other having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, to put
 ‘ in execution the Canons and Ecclesiastical Laws---
 ‘ forbidding them to acknowledge that they have
 ‘ any authority from her, by omitting this clause,
 ‘ *Regiâ autoritate fulcitus.*¹’

In the same month^m, and therefore with as little authority, did she issue out a Commission, ‘ by
 ‘ which all the married Clergy were deprived of
 ‘ their benefices, as being disqualified to possess
 ‘ them.ⁿ’ Whence arose this disqualification? the comparative lewdness and scandal of the enjoined Celibacy in the Roman Clergy, has been before observed, not much to their honor: We have now a new Subject, the *unlawfulness* of clerical Marriages. I suppose Mr. *Phillips* will not pretend that their marriages are forbidden in Scripture: this was given up in the Council of *Trent*, where *John* of *Ludegna* maintained that the celibacy of Priests was neither by divine law or apostolical precept, only by advice: and that had it not been for the Laws of the Church, or monastical Vows, Priests or Monks might lawfully marry^o: And so says *Gratian**: And this I apprehend

Q 4

¹ Fox, p. 38. ^m March, 1554. ⁿ P. 38.
^o Concil. tom. xiv. p. 1551.

* Copula Sacerdotalis nec legali, nec Evangelicâ, vel Apostolicâ autoritate prohibetur, Ecclesiasticâ tamen lege penitus interdicitur. Causa. 26. qu. 2. c. 1.

apprehend is yielded by our Biographer, in saying,
 ‘ this inability, as extraordinary as it may now ap-
 ‘ pear, was founded on the constant practice of the
 ‘ Western Church, ever since the establishment of
 ‘ Christianity ; on the unanimous authority of the
 ‘ Canons, and the solemn engagement to celibacy
 ‘ the Clergy take at their Ordination ; on the fourth
 ‘ of *Henry VIIIth’s* six Articles, which the Parlia-
 ‘ ment had passed into a Law, and which the late
 ‘ Statute, which recalled all religious matters to
 ‘ their condition at that Prince’s death, had rati-
 ‘ fied ; which made this Injunction as legal and par-
 ‘ liamentary, as it was just and canonical.^p’ No
 Scripture authority is here pretended. And the
 weakness of the other pleas will appear if we exa-
 mine them severally, beginning with *The unanimous*
authority of the Canons : the elder Canons are with
 us ; thus among those early ones called *Apostolical*,
 it is ordained that no Bishop, Priest, or Deacon,
 put away his wife, upon pretence of Religion*. In
 the days of persecution, when the Clergy particu-
 larly were called to a more exemplary life, and in
 continual expectation of being demanded to exe-
 cution, it was more their duty and less difficult to
 sit loose to the World ; they therefore recommended
 and preferred Celibacy, and the sixteenth and twen-
 ty-fifth of those Canons forbid to the Clergy second
 Marriages, and marrying after Ordination ; but dis-
 solved no marriage on this account : nay, when in
 the Council of *Nice*, some Bishops would have in-
 troduced

^p P. 39.

* Τὴν ἐαυτοῦ γυναῖκα μὴ ἐκβαλλέτω προφάσει εὐλαβείας.
 Can. 5.

roduced a new Law into the Church, that Bishops, Priests and Deacons should abstain from their wives, (married while they were Laymen) *Paphnutius* contended vehemently, that so heavy a yoke ought not to be imposed upon the Clergy, and that they should take heed of rather injuring the Church by this excess of severity; affirming the company of a lawful wife to be chastity, and that it was sufficient, that he, who was first ordained, should not marry afterwards, according to the antient discipline of the Church; but that none ought to be separated from that wife, which he had before married while he was yet a Layman^a. *Paphnutius* was himself unmarried, and the Council left it free to the will of every one, whether they would abstain from the company of their wives or not. The sixth Canon of the sixth General Council orders, if any one, who comes to be ordained, hath a mind to join himself to a wife, let him do it before he is ordained Deacon, Sub-Deacon, or Priest, and then receive Orders. Nay, the tenth Canon of the Council of *Ancyra* permits Deacons, yet unmarried, to marry after their Ordination, and continue in their office, provided they protested at their Ordination their intentions and necessity of marrying. In the Eastern Church Bishops were not forbidden to marry till the close of the seventh Century; and Priests were allowed ten years after their Ordination, to take wives if they chose it. In the Western, after the fourth Century, their Councils were chiefly Provincial, and pretended to no authority out of their own Provinces; and the first of these that forbad marriage to the Clergy

in

^a Soaut Eccl. Hist. lib. i. c. 11.

in general, was a little one at *Orange*, consisting of only seventeen Bishops in the year 441. We must therefore next examine.

The constant practice of the Western Church ever since the establishment of Christianity. Polydore Virgil acknowledges, in general, that notwithstanding the frequent repetition of the Law of Celibacy, marriage could never be wrested from the Western Clergy before the Popedom of Gregory VII.^r Here in *England* before *Austin's* time, Pope's Decrees could have no power. It is said, *Restitutus*, a Bishop of *London*, was a married Man, who was present at the Council of *Nice*, where *Paphnutius* prevailed on the Synod not to condemn the marriage of the Clergy: he brought from thence a Decree, that if a Deacon at the time of his Ordination did protest he intended to marry, it should be lawful for him so to do^s. And by the Answers of *Egbert*, Archbishop of *York*, so late as 734, the Ordination of a Bishop, Priest, or Deacon was valid, *if he have not a second wife, nor one deserted by her husband*. Nay, when it was objected in the Conclave against chusing *Amedeus* Pope, it was replied, that a married Man might be chosen into that See; that not only Popes had been married, but even the Prince of Popes *Peter* himself was so. And that perhaps it had not been the worse if very many Priests were suffered to have wives; because many might be saved in that state which are damned in Celibacy*. In *England* among

^r Invent. rar. lib. 4. cap. 4.

^s Godwyn.

* Id autem quod de uxore dicitur, nihili pendo, cum non solum qui uxorem habuit, sed uxorem adhuc habens queat assumi.---

among the Laws of the *Northumbrian* Priests, the thirty-fifth is, *If a Priest dismiss one wife and take another, let him be Anathema.* Which looks as if *Digamists* were allowed, and that on the death of a first wife, though not on the *dismission* of her, a second might be taken. This was in 950. About which time, according to the old MS. Chronicle of *Winchester*^t, all the Monasteries in *England*, except *Glassenbury* and *Abendon*, were nothing else but Colleges of married Priests, till King *Edgar*, at the instigation of *Dunstan*, drove them thence, and planted Monks in them about 974. *Elfric* indeed, about twenty years before, endeavoured to establish Celibacy ; with how little effect has been seen. But when *Gregory VII.* was for imposing it upon the whole Clergy, and commanded the Bishops to publish his Decrees, the opposition to it here was so great, that *Lanfranc*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, durst venture no further than to decree (in 1076)

‘ Let no Prebendary have a Wife. But of the
 ‘ Priests who live in Towns and Villages, those who
 ‘ have wives shall not be compelled to put them a-
 ‘ way : those who have not, shall be forbidden to
 ‘ marry any^u. His more resolute Successor, *Anselm*,
 introduced

^t Apud Spelman, tom. i. p. 434.

^u Can. i.

assumi.---fueruntque (ut scitis) etiam in matrimonio pontifices, nec Petrus Apostolorum princeps uxore caruit. Quid ista modo objicimus? fortasse non esset pejus sacerdotes quam plures uxorari : quoniam multi salvarentur in sacerdotio conjugato, qui sterili in presbyteratu damnantur. Comment. *Ænea Sylv.* De Gestis Basil. Concil. lib. ii.

‘ introduced a total prohibition, and *forbad wives to*
‘ *the Clergy, in 1102, which before were not forbidden*
‘ *to them* ^w. Which, as *Huntindon* observes, ‘ seem-
‘ ed most chaste to some, to others dangerous ; lest
‘ while they affected a purity beyond their power,
‘ they should fall into horrible uncleanness, to the
‘ great scandal of the Christian Religion.^x’ This
scandal was so great, that before the close of this
Century, the Pope connived at the marriage of Sub-
Deacons for a reason which affects the higher Or-
ders also, ‘ least instead of one, they should abuse
‘ many Women ; because a less evil is to be tolera-
‘ ted, that a greater may be avoided.’ From this
time, though the Canons were against it, yet the
marriages of the Clergy continued, either by Licence
purchased of the King, or clandestinely ; which
last were so general, that *Otho*, the Pope’s Legate,
published a Constitution against them, in 1240.
And even down to the Reformation ‘ all the best
‘ and most religious Priests (in the Church of *Rome*)
‘ perceiving their infirmity, and detesting the foul-
‘ ness of fornication, if they dared not publickly,
‘ at least privately, entered into marriage.’ So af-
firms *Cassander* in his Consultations sent to *Maxi-*
milian II. in 1564. From whence we learn *the con-*
stant practice of the Western Church ever since the esta-
blishment of Christianity was to have wives, for above
1000 years, without prohibition ; and afterwards,
in spite of the Canons. At least the best and most
religious Priests did so, others wallowed in the filth
of

^w Henry de Knighton de event. Angl. l. 2. c. 8.
^x Hist. lib. vii.

of Concubinary, and the Nunneries were as publickly prostituted as the common Stews*.

Next he urges *the solemn engagement to Celibacy, which the Clergy take at their Ordination*: If this Vow was *voluntary*, yet beyond a Man's power to keep, *Epiphanius*, a strenuous Advocate for Celibacy, says, it is better openly to marry a wife according to the Law: for this reason, because it is better to commit one Sin (his breach of vow) than many (by irregular incontinence.^y) If this Vow was forced and *involuntary*, they cannot be truly said to have vowed; and therefore *Scotus*, *Durandus*, and other Divines in the Church of *Rome* allow, that marriage is unlawful to the Clergy, not upon the account of a Vow annexed to their Orders, but merely for the authority of the Church's Prohibition. Yet, whether such Vows, in such cases, ought to bind or not, the marriage that is contracted, in breach of it, is nevertheless valid. Thus the Canon Law compiled by *Gratian*, and confirmed by *Eugenius III.* declares, ' If a Deacon will lay down his office, he may lawfully use marriage when once contracted. For although he made a Vow of Chastity at his Ordination, yet so great is the force of the Sacrament of marriage, that, not even by the Violation of the Vow, can the marriage be dissolved.^z' Especially

^y Hæres. 41.

^z Apud Gratian. Dict. 27. cap. 1.

* Nam quid obsecro aliud sunt hoc tempore puellarum monasteria, nisi quædam, non dico Dei Sanctuaria, sed Veneris execranda prostibula, sed lascivorum & impudicorum juvenum ad libidines explendas receptacula, ut idem hodiè sit puellam velare quod et publicè ad scortandum exponere? Nicol. de Clamengiis de corrupto Eccles. statu.

cially as the Vow supposed to be annexed to Orders was seldom exprefs, only tacit and interpretative ; generally an admonition only from the Bishop to live single, without any vow or promise by the person ordained : so that the gloss upon the Decretals of *Gregory IX.* professeth, that he cannot imagine how the Clergy of the Western Church can be said to be obliged by Vow to Continence ^a.

If we ask by what authority the Queen issued her Commission to deprive the married Clergy of their Benefices, Mr. *Phillips* tells us, by *the fourth of Henry VIIIth's six Articles, which the Parliament had passed into a Law, and which the late Statute, which recalled all Religious matters to their Condition at that Prince's death, had ratified ; which made this Injunction as legal and parliamentary, as it was just and Canonical.* Now *Henry* had claimed to be Supreme over all his Subjects as well Clergy as Laity, but *Mary* had renounced this power ; whence then had she authority to issue Commissions, where the Cause and the Persons were purely Ecclesiastical ? The Papal Supremacy was not yet restored, nor could operate in *England*, for the *Legatus natus*, or the Pope's ordinary Legate, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, would not act by that authority, nor could, being in prison, and attainted of Treason : the Legate *à latere*, Cardinal *Pole*, had his commission indeed, and was, as he expresses it, *knocking at the door to be admitted*, but the Queen herself was barring the door against him at that time. The Injunction therefore was as illegal as it was unjust.

Of

^a Lib. 3. tit. 9. cap. cum olim.

Of the Bishops deprived he mentions two Classes, one of which contains those who had been Regulars ; against these he urges the solemn Vows made on entering a Religious state : but those Vows must have been discharged when the Orders and Service were suppressed * ; nor did they marry, till the Laws of the Church permitted them so to do, in *Edward's* reign. Of these he thinks proper to give some account from Protestant Historians.

‘ *Holgate*, Archbishop of *York*, not only made use
 ‘ of the indulgent doctrine, which, in *Edward's*
 ‘ reign, allowed the Clergy to marry, but extended
 ‘ the licence to take another Man's wife. *Collier*.
 ‘ *Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. b. 5. p. 349. And *Collier* re-
 fers us to *Harmer* to justify his suspicion that this
 taking another Man's wife was one of the *heinous*
offences for which *Holgate* was imprisoned. There
 appears sufficient cause for his imprisonment without
 suspecting this marriage to have been any part of it ;
 for *Strype* informs us, that on the 18 *Jan.* 1554, the
 Lord Chancellor went to the Tower, and divers
 other Lords of the Council, and delivered a num-
 ber of Prisoners, *viz.* the three Sons and the Bro-
 thers of the late Duke of *Northumberland*, Sir *James*
a Croft, Sir *George Harper*, Sir *George Carew*, Sir
Nicolas Throgmorton, Sir *Nicolas Arnold*, Mr. *Vaughan*,
 Sir *Edward Warner*, Mr. *Gybbs*, the Archbishop of
York,

* For that Vows taken, which respect a Society, are discharged when a person ceases to be of that Society, appears from the rules of the Jesuits themselves, quibus nimirum ita astringuntur, ut liberum tamen Societati ante professionem sit, quos non probat dimittere, ac dimissos, ab omni votorum obligatione absolvere. *Ribadeneiræ Vita Ignat.* lib. 3. p. 262.

York, Sir John Rogers, and divers others, concerned in the Lady Jane's or Wyatt's business, after a year's imprisonment or more^b. And I learn from Queen Mary's Council book, that the Archbishop and other of the Conspirators were fined that day at the Tower. How far he was concerned appears not, but we may presume it was not so deeply as the others, because his fine was only 23 marks, while Andrew Dudley's was 200 pounds, and Cuthbert Vaughan's 300. There is no reason therefore to suspect that his taking another Man's wife was one of those heinous offences for which he was imprisoned. But Harmer still fears, and thinks his probity may be justly suspected, because he finds in King Edward's Council book this Order made on the 23 Nov. 1551. *A Letter to the Archbishop of York, to stay his coming up hither till the Parliament.* Also a Letter to Sir Thomas Gargrave, and Mr. Chaloner, and Dr. Rouksby to search and examine the very truth of the matter between the Archbishop of York, and one Norman, who claimeth the said Archbishop's wife to be his wife, to which end the Supplication of the said Norman is sent to them inclosed^c. This is all that Harmer, or Collier, or Phillips, or I know of this matter. Is the Archbishop's probity justly to be suspected, because one Norman, we know not who, claims the Archbishop's wife to be his, without knowing on what grounds he claimed, or how the Archbishop defended himself? a misinterpreted promise, or a doubtful contract *per verba de futuro*, might have been the pretense without any reflection on the Archbishop. A doubtful point it appears to have been, as a Commission

^b Mem. vol. iii. p. 208.^c P. 125.

mission was directed, for *examining and using such means to understand the circumstance and very truth of the matter*, as it stands in the Council book now in the *Museum*. And that the Archbishop had been guilty of no offence was, I suppose, found on the Enquiry; because we hear nothing of his being separated from her: nay, in the *May* following he purchased the Lordship of *Scroby*, lately parcel of the Possessions of the Archbishops of *York*, and settled it upon his Successors for ever, reserving the Premises to Himself and *Barbara* his wife, during their Lives or the Survivor of them^d. So that *Norman's* claim, upon *examining the circumstance and very truth of the matter*, appears not to have been well grounded, and the clamors against the Archbishop, on this account, to have been not justifiable.

Farrar, Bishop of *St. David's*, he tells us, had fifty-six Articles exhibited against him, after the Duke of *Somerset's* fall, for which he was confined during the remainder of *Edward's* reign; and now degraded, *Athen. Oxon.* p. 679. But neither He, nor *Wood*, tells us, that the chief of those Articles were omissions purposely made by the Treachery of the Bishop's Chancellor and Register to bring him into trouble; so that his confinement in the former reign was by the treacherous ingratitude of his own officers, secret Papists, as *Fox* informs us: neither does *Mr. Phillips* acquaint us that in this reign, beside degrading, he was burnt by the cruelty of the Papists, and the sentence of his Successor. *Wood* indeed adds (from Roman Catholick Writers) *a Man may easily perceive, that the having a woman to his wife, was the chief mo-*

R

tive

^d Stryp. Mem. vol. ii. p. 402.

tive that drew him to those opinions which he held ; as if it were not more natural to think, that the opinions which he held were the chief motive that drew him to have a Woman to his Wife, as Wood's quotation strangely expresses it ; or, as if having a Monk to his Wife, or a Woman to his Whore, which was too common a practice amongst Popish Priests, would have kept him in the profession of Popish Doctrines.

As to the other two it may be sufficient to observe, that *Pitts*, whom he quotes, says nothing of *Bird* ; perhaps it was intended to place his name under the account of *Paul Bush*, of whom he relates much of what Mr. *Phillips* mentions : but then how comes *Pitts* to be reckoned among Protestant Historians ? In a MS. belonging once to *J. Fox*, is an account of the meritorious Conversion of this Dr. *Bird*, who, after putting away his wife, was made Vicar of *Dunmow*, and Suffragan to Bishop *Boner* ; ‘ This Dr. *Bird* was well stricken in years, having but one eye ; and though he, to flatter with the time, had renounced his wife, being made of a young Protestant an old Catholick ; yet, as Catholick as he was, such devotion he bare to his Man's wife, that he had them both dwelling with him in his own Vicarage, she being both young, fair, and newly married, that either the voice of the Parish lied, or else he loved her more than enough. But of such covered cautelty being taken for good Catholick Chastity, I have not to deal, referring that to him, which once I trust shall purge the Church of all such cloked Hypocrisy.’

This

This leads him to speak of the Supply of those vacancies, ' either by new Bishops chosen, with great discernment, or by old ones deservedly reinstated : ' on this occasion he *draws to his Subject* a supposed incident in the beginning of Queen *Elisabeth's* reign, in these words ; ' Dr. *Heath*, Archbishop of *York*, and Chancellor, at the opening of the first Parliament under *Elisabeth*, made a discourse on that Princess's Supremacy, which, for clearness and solidity, may vie with any of the pleadings of *Tully* or *Demosthenes*. ' This, so often hackneyed commendation of the Writers and Speakers on our Biographer's side of the question, brings the richness of his invention into some doubt ; and the ill success, with which it has been hitherto applied, creates a suspicion that the speech is not quite such as he represents it. In the first place, it is probable, that this speech, how eloquent soever, was never spoken : He quotes it from a Popish Book, entitled, *Historical Collections out of several grave Protestant Historians*, &c. referring us to page 225, which should be page 284, where this pretended *Tale told in Parliament* occurs. The Writer's authority is no authentick History or Record, but a *Manuscript* found by a person living in the year 1674 (when these Collections were printed) among Papers and Notes of his Great Grandfather *George Parry*, who had been High Sheriff of *Herefordshire* in the second year of the said Queen. So that who made this speech we know not : but I very believe neither *Heath*, nor *Tully*, nor *Demosthenes*. As may be farther suspected from the falsehood in the Title of it ;

R 2

' A

‘ A speech made in the upper House of Parliament,
 ‘ against the Supremacy to be in her Majesty ; by
 ‘ *Nicholas Heath*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, in
 ‘ the first year of the reign of Queen *Elisabeth*, above
 ‘ 100 years since.^h’ *Heath* was not Chancellor at
 the beginning of that Parliament ; which was o-
 pened not by him, but by Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord
 Keeper. But supposing this a mistake of the Edi-
 tor’s Great Grandfather, or that he only meant to
 give it as a speech spoken by *Heath*, who *had been*
 Lord Chancellor ; there are internal marks, which
 for *Heath*’s honor, I will not suppose could drop
 from his lips ; he is made to say towards the end of
 it, ‘ without mature deliberation of all the pre-
 ‘ mises (arguments against the Regal Supremacy)
 ‘ your Honors shall never be able to shew your
 ‘ faces before your enemies in this matter.ⁱ’ Now,
 contrary to this vain prophecy, we have been able to
 shew our faces before our enemies in this matter for
 200 years, and I trust we shall be able to face Mr.
Phillips and all his Allies. But how *Heath* could
 face that House of Lords, if he spake this speech,
 I know not ; when so many of them had been wit-
 nesses, that in spite of his own arguments, he had
 acknowledged, subscribed, and sworn to this Supre-
 macy at least three times in King *Henry*’s reign, as
 Archdeacon of *Sudbury*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and
 Bishop of *Worceſter* ; and again upon King *Edward*’s
 Accession. Then the continual series of Falsehoods
 and Sophisms through the whole long tedious speech,
 prove it could not be written by a modest Man, ac-
 quainted with Ecclesiastical History, as *Heath* was,
 before

before a learned auditory who could easily have confuted him": but was counterfeited by some profligate seducer, either a stranger to the antient Church History, or else wilfully misrepresenting it to deceive ignorant Readers and Disciples. Who this forger was it is not incumbent on me to find out; but *George Parry* of *Herefordshire*, among whose papers this Manuscript was found, will lead us to suspect it might come out of the family of *William Parry* of *Wales*, who was hanged for having been spirited up by the Jesuits to murder *Queen Elisabeth*, as before-mentioned.

§. 24. Pole's *Embassies to the Emperour, the French King and to England.* The Legate's proceedings in the Embassies in which the Pope employed him, shew the same fondness for scribbling, and the same ill success in negotiating as characterize him throughout. The

Pope, acquainted with his particular views and personal interest in *England*, immediately thought him the properest person to be employed for the recovery of that Kingdom, and therefore appointed him Legate to the new Queen: and desirous of the assistance of the Emperour and French King, who were at War, through one or other of whose territories he must pass, took that opportunity of sending him on an Embassy to both those Princes to endeavour to make peace betwixt them. Full of these important negotiations the Cardinal Legate set out with all his pomp for *Flanders* in the depth of winter and a very severe season: But unfortunately the Emperour, who knew his designs, and intended the Queen for his own Son, forbade him to proceed; and sent him back to *Dillingen* on the *Danube*. From

whence he informs the Pope of his unfortunate outset, and by Letter intreats the Emperour to remove an obstacle no less disrespectful to the Holy See, than prejudicial to the purposes of his Embassy. But *Charles* was deaf to any remonstrances, nor would give him leave to come nearer to *Brussels*, till his Son's marriage with the Queen was concluded. And his dear Princess, now determined on a younger Husband, conspired with the Emperour to keep the Legate for a time out of her Kingdom. The Pope condoles with him on his disappointment, and permits him to lay down his publick character and retinue, and go over to *England incog*, and when opportunity offers, to assume his functions again, which he permits him so to use, that he may *neither prejudice his private concerns* *, nor want authority to effect his publick commission †. However, the Queen herself had effectually prevented his putting this scheme into execution ; for she had just before sent him advice, that his coming over would neither be seasonable for her affairs, nor safe to him ; she was afraid her Subjects would murder him : wherefore she thinks it more prudent for him to delay his passage hither, rather than by coming to interrupt her designs more than promote them †. Thus unfortunately failed his first project, and the labors and treasons of so many years were disappointed.

The marriage with *Philip* being assented to by Parliament, his next care was to execute the Pope's Commissions of making peace betwixt the belligerent

* Ep. Pol. vol. iv. p. 432. † Ibid p. 121.

¶ Ut tibi nec in privatis tuis rebus agendis obfit—

rent Powers, and reconciling *England* to the See of *Rome*. For this end he intreats the Emperour to delay him no longer. *Charles*, now not afraid of disobliging the *English*, consented to his coming to *Brussels*. But soon after his arrival there, gave him to understand, he could not consent to his going to *England*, till his Son's marriage with the Queen was over. To employ this leisure he began his mediation of Peace; which the Emperour seemed to hear with approbation; and to amuse him sent him to the French King to know his intentions. On the road he busied himself in writing a long Discourse on Peace, which he intended for the use of each of them. Our Biographer, in giving us a Summary of it, has made the Cardinal Author of a most shameful Anachronism. He represents him as admonishing them, that 'contention and agreement had been equally 'unavailing to the desired end (of lasting peace)— 'that the Emperour might be satisfied of this, if he 'reflected, not only on the situation of his affairs 'within these three or four last years he had been at 'war with the present King (of *France*;) but called to remembrance the events of *Henry II.* thirty 'years past or more, since these calamities began; 'and the almost perpetual state of hostility he had 'been in with *Francis* his Father.^m' Blunders which *Pole* could not be guilty of; and I will do him justice against the injurious misinterpretations of his Biographer, who makes him talk of a present King, as different from *Henry II.* whereas they were the same, *Henry II.* was then the present King in *France*: and describes him as desiring the Emperour

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to remember events of *Henry II.* thirty years past and more. This Discourse was written early in 1554; *Henry II.* succeeded to the Crown in 1547. What in the name of wonder were the events of *Henry II.* thirty years past and more, which the Emperour was to remember? whereas the passage in *Pole*, so fantastically translated, only desires *Cæsar* to recollect the beginning of this war; not those beginnings two or three years ago with *Henry*, but thirty years ago or more, with *Francis*, Father to the present King; which has proved one continual War ever since*.

But the effect of this Discourse, and of his negotiations to bring about a peace, were unfortunate, as usual. The Emperour either was, or pretended to be, displeased at his negotiation with the French King; and ‘complained, that in the written discourse, which was alike addressed to them both, he had shewed a partiality to his Rival.’ ‘Violence of words could go no greater lengths; and had he not taken them in the sense they were meant, he must have been more insensible, he says, than an inanimate being.’ and in this warmth writes to his Agent at *Rome*, ‘intimating that he would not be displeased to be recalled.’ The Pope, by Cardinal *Morone*, appears to have signified a desire, that

¶ P. 48. ° P. 52. ¶ P. 55.

* Meminisse igitur debes, Cæsar, belli hujus initia, quæ quidem non sunt à duorum, triumve annorum spatium, quibus bellum a te cum Henrico geritur, sed ab triginta, aut eo etiam amplius intervallo repetenda, atque tibi cum Francisco hujus ipsius Regis Patre inchoatum certamen, assiduum perpetuumque esse bellum. *Oratio de Pace. Quirini, vol. iv. p. 409.*

that he would procede in his Legation to *England*, how ill soever he had succeeded in that to the Emperour. *Pole* answers, his utmost ambition is to serve such a Patron, in such a cause: but so deep had the Queen's caution sunk into his mind of deferring that office for fear of being assassinated in *England*, that he tells *Morone*, ' I would not, however, have your Lordship imagine, that having
' some experience of these affairs, I am ignorant on
' what a tempestuous sea I embark, when I undertake the Embassy to *England*; and that the risks
' I am to run, and the hardships I must undergo to
' guide the Vessel into the Haven, are much greater than those I have hitherto encountered.' This shews us our great obligations to the Cardinal, who would even risk his life, as he says, rather than not subject us to a foreign yoke, which we so detested and abhorred, that he was afraid we should rise up and murder him for attempting it.

To effect this recovery, the Commission was very ample, from him whose aim was *to seek what was lost*. ' Indulgence to almost every weakness and depravity of human nature; and to persons of what
' degree and professions soever.' And, where the chief difficulty would lie, and consequently from which the greatest danger would rise, he was empowered to agree and transact, as he should judge convenient, with the Possessors of Church-goods: of arrears and moveable goods consumed they might be discharged, or compounded with for them: but the *terra firma*, the lands he wishes to be *first* re-
restored*.

stored*. This Commission, Mr. *Phillips* grossly misrepresents, as if it was left to the Legate's determination, 'whether restitution of the immoveable (goods) was to be made or not.' Whereas the clause respects only the mean profits and moveables, for which it impowers the Legate to compound with the possessors, or to discharge them : as to the Lands and immoveables, no power is granted to excuse the restitution of them ; but whether the restitution of them should be made *before* the Legate compounds for the mean profits, or *afterwards*, is left to his discretion, though the former is advised. He adds, 'and he was authorized to make the owners easy as to *all* such matters.' Here again he falsely includes the immoveables, when the moveables are only mentioned. Nay, Mr. *Phillips* himself afterwards detects his own misrepresentation ; for when he gives an account of the *enlargement* of these powers, he describes them just as he had done the former, or rather *more restrained*, and truly states the difference betwixt them in contradiction to his first account. For the Emperour had sent over his first Commission into *England*, to be examined, whether the powers were sufficient or not : the Queen judged they were not, and desired larger. The Pope therefore, to the great joy of the Legate, granted him fuller powers, by which the difficulty and

* P. 59.

* Et cum Possessoribus bonorum Ecclesiasticorum (restitutis prius si tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebitè detentis) super fructibus malè perceptis, ac bonis mobilibus, consumptis, concordandi, et transigendi, ac eos desuper liberandi et quietandi. The Pope's General Powers.-- see Burnet, vol. iii. Records, p. 217.

and danger would be lessened ; which Mr. *Phillips* thus relates, ‘ He (the Pope) mentions to the Legate, that he had *already* authorised him to treat with the Possessors of Ecclesiastical Revenues, *as to the fruits they had unjustly received and consumed*, and to discharge them from any obligation of restitution *arising from these heads*. But as nothing seemed more likely to remove the hindrance [to a recovery of this kingdom to his obedience]—He therefore—invested the Legate with the most ample power to agree and compound with the present owners [at the recommendation of the Queen ; this Mr. *Phillips* omits] and to assure to them *their possessions*, on whatever title they held them ; *to exempt them from any duty of restitution* ; and to do every thing that was necessary to remove all scruples, and *make them easy* : yet still reserving judgment in cases for their importance to be referred to the Holy See, as the Legate should see cause.^{†*} The restriction of reserving judgment in some cases to the Pope, Mr. *Phillips* mentions, but says, it was the only one ; having refused to inform us of the other, which limits it to those only whom the Queen should recommend. So that this extension of the Legate’s powers, as our Biographer represents it, was a more restrained Commission than the former, which this was meant to enlarge. He also is mistaken

† P. 65.

* Salvo tamen in his, in quibus, propter rerum magnitudinem et gravitatem, hæc sancta sedes meritò tibi videretur consulenda, nostro et præfatæ sedis, bene placito et confirmatione. Burnet, vol. iii. Records, p. 223.

ken in the date of this last Commission : It should be 28th of *June*, not *July*, 1554.

The importance of the affair, in which the negotiation ended, caused Mr. *Phillips*, as he himself elegantly tells us, ‘ to be as circumstantial concerning every thing which related to it (if he may be allowed the comparison) as the Poet in producing the Bow, by which his Heroe was to be discovered, and the fate of the Suitors decided.” I have no objection to allowing the comparison, for the affair ended like the story of the Bow ; after the Hero had made trial of it, and found he had a *faculty* of bending it as he pleased, methinks I hear him crying out to the Protestants, as *Ulysses* did to the Suitors,

Dogs, you have had your day—

The hour of vengeance, wretches, now is come,
Impending fate is yours, and instant doom.

Pope*.

which, if not in the spirit of the personal character of the timid *Pole*, is in the very spirit of the character he appeared in, the Representative of the Pope, so often roused by his Preachers against the Protestants, with this Text, *Rise, Peter, slay and eat*. See *Burnet*, vol. iii. Introd.

Notwithstanding his powers were now enlarged to his own wish and satisfaction, he was still detained ; and there were not wanting at the Courts of *Rome*, *Brussels*, and *England*, those who represented him

^u P. 69.

* Ω' κύνες, ———

Νῦν ὑμῖν καὶ πᾶσιν ὀλέθρου πείραξ' ἐφ' ἡπλαι.

Odyss. lib. xxii.

him as unfit for the Commission he was charged with. Who they were he knew not, but the effects were so sensible, that as *Mason*, the Queen's Ambassadour at the Court of *Brussels*, writes, ' he began to
' lose all comfort, perceiving neither his negotia-
' tions for a Peace between the Emperour and the
' French King, nor that of reconciling his Country
' with the Catholick Church, take effect. The
' first he gave quite up; and if he did not speedily
' perceive some likelihood of succeeding in the o-
' ther, he should be weary of spending his time to
' no purpose, and talked of returning to *Italy*.^w' So able a negotiator was he through life! It is true, *Mason* pays him some extravagant compliments, and compares the *English*, if they admit him not, to the *Gadarenes*, who desired our Redemer to depart from their Country, which Mr. *Phillips*, with more regard to his Hero than to his Redemer, has thought proper to repete.

At length his return was resolved; his Attainder reversed, with this notorious falsehood in it, ' that
' the only reason of his Attainder had been the Car-
' dinal's refusal to consent to the unlawful divorce
' of the Queen's Father and Mother.^x' Whereas it was owing to his fomenting a rebellion against the King, and being ' a rebel and enemy to his coun-
' try.'^y All things being ready for his reception, about the middle of *Nov.* 1554, he came to *Calais*, where an incident happened, so very unusual, and worthy the notice of History, that this Writer interprets it a declaration of Heaven in his favor; which was—the wind changed^z. It is true, not a sparrow falleth

^w P. 73.^x P. 75.^y P. 79.^z P. 77.

falleth to the ground without our heavenly Father, whom *the winds and the seas obey* ; but to remark the winds turning, as an indication of God's will not to detain the Legate a few days from *England*, and pass over the many months delay occasioned by *Charles, Phillip, and Mary*, whose wills were equally under the same controul, appears to be a very partial representation of Providence.

§. 25. *The Nation reconciled to the Pope.* He tells us the Legate ' was received at landing by the Lord *Montague*, his Nephew by his eldest Brother, whom *Henry VIII.* had ' put to death.^a' But his eldest Brother left no Son behind him, only two Daughters : Sir *Anthony Browne* indeed had been created Lord Viscount *Montacute* or *Montague* the *September* before : the title I apprehend to be the same, derived from *Thomas de Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury* (common Ancestor both to the *Poles* and *Brownes*) whose Grandchildren were *Richard Nevil*, Earl of *Salisbury*, from whom the *Poles* descended ; and *John Nevil* created Baron, and then Marquis of *Montague*, from whom descended the *Brownes*. It is of no consequence by whom the Cardinal was met ; but a Biographer who boasts of his accuracy, even in trifles, should have been better acquainted with his Hero's Pedigree and Relations.

When he was admitted into the House of Lords to declare the purpose of his Embassy to them, and the Nation by their Representatives, Mr. *Phillips* makes him say, ' He had, for many years, been ' excluded

‘ excluded not only from that assembly, but also
 ‘ from his Country, by Laws enacted personally a-
 ‘ gainst himself.^b’ What title had he ever to sit in
 the House of Lords? He had indeed a place offered
 him there by the King’s favor, offering him the
 Chair of *York*, which he refused to accept: his own
 Will therefore, and not laws personally enacted
 against himself, had excluded him from that House.
 But this is Mr. *Phillips*’s improvement of the Car-
 dinal’s speech: for *Pole* himself was not so absurd;
 he thanks them, for that they ‘ of a man exiled
 ‘ and banished from the Common-wealth, had re-
 ‘ stored him to be a member of the same; and of
 ‘ a Man having no place, neither here or elsewhere,
 ‘ within this realm, had admitted him in a place
 ‘ where to speak and to be heard.^c’ His exclusion from
 the House of Lords by Laws personally enacted
 against himself are flowers of Rhetorick scattered by
 Mr. *Phillips*, which make the Cardinal appear to
 talk like a fool.

On occasion of the Nations being reconciled to
 the Church of *Rome*, and again submitting their
 necks to the yoke of its Bishop, by acknowledging
 his Supremacy in these Kingdoms, which now im-
 mediately followed, he accounts for ‘ this speedy
 ‘ and universal Revolution, from the short time,
 ‘ not much more than twenty years, since *England*
 ‘ had renounced the Religion, to which she now
 ‘ returned, and which had been the national wor-
 ‘ ship for above nine Centuries.^d’ Had the national
 worship continued the same in *England* for nine Cen-
 turies, which it did not, new Doctrines, ceremo-
 nies,

^b 81.^c Fox, vol. iii. p. 109.^d P. 84.

nies, and superstitions, having been from time to time introduced, during that interval, it was no great wisdom to prefer the corruptions of the last nine Centuries to the worship which more nearly resembled that of the six primitive ones. But he reminds the Reader of ‘ the motives which induced *Henry VIII.* to begin this change, and its fluctuating state during all *Edward’s* reign.’ Whatever *Henry’s* private motives might have been, the Act itself of rejecting a foreign Prelate’s usurped and unchristian domination in his own territories, was certainly commendable and beneficial to his people : and what he calls the fluctuating state of religion in *Edward’s* reign, was only the progressive reformation of Popish errors, coolly examined as they were discovered, cleaned both from the rust of prepossession, and the dross of enthusiasm. Such fluctuations were only like those of the river which *Hercules* is fabled to have poured through the stable of *Augeas* ; had there been less filth to remove, fewer successions of waves had been required to cleanse it. Then he produces the authority of two witnesses, in this case above all exception, being both Bishops of our own Church ; the one, to shew the little satisfaction which sensible and well disposed minds could find in the novelties of *our* Religion : the other, to set forth arguments, which may prevale on men of much reason and more piety to entertain a favorable opinion of *theirs*^f.

The first of these is Bishop *Burnet*, in the third volume of his *History of the Reformation* ; where he says nothing of *the little satisfaction that sensible and*
well

well disposed minds could find in our Doctrines, which this Writer is pleased to call *Novelties* : but of the neglect of those Doctrines in many of those who outwardly professed them ; who, having been called to the true Gospel liberty, did, as did some among the primitive Christians, *use their liberty for an occasion to the flesh*. Human nature is prone to run from one extreme to another, from superstition to prophaneness, especially at the beginning of the change, and to run back as easily from prophaneness to superstition, without fixing at the right point. But the bad examples and bad designs of some Protestants could be no disproof, nor are they by any means mentioned by Bishop *Burnet* as a disproof of the religious opinions which they professed. Indeed the misbehaviour of persons, professing to be Reformers, would of course be exaggerated, and give more offence than the same or greater faults in other persons would ; and because the Reformation had not done all the Good that was expected, and had occasioned some harm, hasty Reasoners would be apt to think that it had done nothing but harm : yet the Nation in general were not such kind of Reasoners, nor were they so far disgusted with the Reformation, however they might be with some scandalous Professors of it, but that great opposition was made in Parliament, as appears from Mr. *Phillips* himself, to repealing the alterations made by *Edward VI.* and still greater to the Restoration of the Pope's Supremacy : the most zealous Protestants were serious and pious Christians, and who had no particular Interest to serve by their Tenets. They, who lamented these

S scandals

scandals most, were they who most seriously approved our Doctrines^h.

The other witness is Bishop *Taylor* ; with what good faith he has quoted him, let the Reader judge : he introduces him as ‘ setting forth, in a very impartial light, some arguments, which *may prevail on men of much reason and more piety*, to entertain a favorable opinion of the Religion, which the Nation now embraced.ⁱ’ As if the Bishop meant, that Protestants, if sensible and pious men, would see good reason to entertain a favorable opinion of Popery : whereas the good injured Prelate is only inquiring, with a benignity of heart to which this corruptor of evidence is a stranger, how far erroneous sects may be tolerated, as excusably misled by specious arguments, while they are harmless in their behaviour. He instances first in *Anabaptists*, setting forth their pleas to the utmost advantage ; and then proceeds to do the same for *Papists*, in these words, which I beg the Reader to compare with what Mr. *Phillips* hath produced from him, curtailed, transposed, and altered most unfairly, to serve his own turn.

‘ But now concerning the Religion of the Church of *Rome* (which was the other instance I promised to consider) we will proceede another way, and not consider the truth or falsity of the Doctrines, for that is not the best way to determine this Question concerning permitting their Religion or Assemblies. Because *that a thing is not true*, is not argument sufficient to conclude, that he that believes it
‘ true

^h See Burnet's Hist. Reform. v. iii. p. 217, 218.

ⁱ P. 84.

true is not to be endured : but we are to consider
 what inducements they are that possess the under-
 standings of those men, whether they be reason-
 able and innocent, *sufficient to abuse* or persuade wise
 and good men ; or whether the Doctrines be com-
 menced upon design, and managed with impiety,
 and then have effects not to be endured.

And here, first, I consider that those Doctrines
 that have had long continuance and possession in
 the Church, cannot easily be supposed in the pre-
 sent professors to be a design, since they have re-
 ceived it from so many Ages ; and it is not likely
 that all Ages should have the same purposes, or that
 the same Doctrine should serve the several ends of
 divers Ages. But, however, long prescription is
 a *prejudice* oftentimes so insupportable, that it can-
 not with many arguments be retrenched, as relying
 upon these grounds, that truth is more antient
 than falsehood ; that God would not for so many
 Ages forsake his Church, and leave her in an er-
 ror ; that whatsoever is new is not only suspicious,
 but false : which are suppositions pious and plausi-
 ble enough. And if the Church of *Rome* had
 communicated Infants so long as she hath prayed
 to Saints or baptized Infants, the communica-
 ting would have been believed with as much confi-
 dence as the other Articles are, and the dissentients
 with as much impatience rejected. But this con-
 sideration is to be enlarged upon all those particu-
 lars which, as they are apt to *abuse the persons of the*
men and amuse their understandings, so they are in-
 struments of their excuse, and by making their
 errors to be invincible, and their *Opinions, though*
false, yet not criminal, make it also an effect of

reason and charity to permit the men a liberty of their
 Conscience, *and let them answer to God for themselves*
and their own opinions. Such as are the beauty
 and splendor of their Church; their pompous Ser-
 vice; the stateliness and solemnity of the Hierar-
 chy; their name of Catholick, which they sup-
 pose their own due, and to concern no other Sect of
 Christians: the antiquity of many of their Doc-
 trines; the continual Succession of their Bishops,
 their immediate derivation from the Apostles, their
 title to succede St. *Peter*; *the supposal and pretence*
 of his personal prerogatives; the advantages which
 the conjunction of the Imperial Seat with their
 Episcopal hath brought to that See; the flattering
 expressions of Minor Bishops, which by being old
 records have obtained credibility; the multitude
 and variety of people which are of their persua-
 sion; apparent consent with Antiquity in many
 Ceremonials which other Churches have rejected;
 and a *pretended*, and sometimes an *apparent*, con-
 sent with some elder Ages in many matters Doctri-
 nal; the advantage which is derived to them by
 entertaining some personal Opinions of the Fa-
 thers, which they with infinite clamors see to be
 cried up to be a Doctrine of the Church of that
 time; the great consent of one part with another
 in that which most of them affirm to be *de fide*;
 the great differences which are commenced a-
 mongst their Adversaries, abusing the liberty of
 Propheying unto a very great licentiousness; their
 happiness of being instruments in converting
 divers Nations; the advantages of Monarchical
 Government, the benefit of which as well as the in-
 conveniencies (which though they feel they consider
 not)

‘ not) they daily do enjoy ; the piety and the austerity
 ‘ of their Religious Orders of Men and Women ; the
 ‘ single life of their Priests and Bishops ; the riches of
 ‘ their Church ; the severity of their Fasts and their ex-
 ‘ terior observances ; the great reputation of their first
 ‘ Bishops for Faith and Sanctity ; the known holi-
 ‘ ness of some of those persons whose Institutes the
 ‘ Religious persons pretend to imitate ; their Mi-
 ‘ racles false or true, substantial or imaginary ; the
 ‘ casualties and accidents that have happened to their
 ‘ Adversaries, which being instances of humanity,
 ‘ are attributed to several causes, according as the
 ‘ fancies of Men and their interests are pleased or
 ‘ satisfied ; the temporal felicity of their Professors ;
 ‘ the oblique arts and indirect proceedings of some of
 ‘ those who departed from them ; and, amongst ma-
 ‘ ny other things, the names of Heretick and Schis-
 ‘ matick, which they with infinite pertinacy fasten
 ‘ upon all that disagree from them : These things
 ‘ and divers others may very easily persuade persons
 ‘ of much reason and more piety to retain that
 ‘ which they know to have been the Religion of their
 ‘ Fore-fathers, which had actual possession and sei-
 ‘ zure of Mens understandings before the opposite
 ‘ professions had a name : and so much the rather,
 ‘ because Religion hath more advantage upon the
 ‘ fancy and affections, than it hath upon Philosophy
 ‘ and severe discourses, and therefore is the more
 ‘ easily persuaded upon such grounds as these, *which*
 ‘ *are more apt to amuse than to satisfy the understanding.*

‘ Secondly, if we consider the Doctrines them-
 ‘ selves, we shall find them to be superstructures ill
 ‘ built, and worse managed ; but yet they keep the
 ‘ foundation.—The foundation of Faith stands

‘ secure enough *for all their vain and unhandsome structures.*’

‘ But then on the other side—Many of their Doctrines, says the Bishop, (Mr. *Phillips* did not chuse to quote these paragraphs) do accidentally teach or lead to ill life, and it will appear to any man that considers the result of these Propositions : Attrition (which is a low and imperfect degree of sorrow for sin, a sorrow for sin commenced upon any reason of a religious hope, or temporal fear, or desire, or any thing else) is a sufficient disposition for a Man in the Sacrament of penance to receive absolution, and be justified before God, by taking away the guilt of all his sins, and the obligation to eternal pains. So that already the fear of Hell is quite removed upon conditions so easy, that many Men take more pains to get a groat, than by this doctrine we are obliged to, for the curing and acquitting all the greatest Sins of a whole life, of the most vitious person in the world : And, but that they affright their people with a fear of Purgatory, or with the severity of Penances, in case they will not venture for Purgatory (for by their Doctrine they may chuse or refuse either) there would be nothing in their Doctrine or Discipline to impede and slacken their proclivity to sin ; but then they have as easy a cure for that too, with a little more charge sometimes, but most commonly with less trouble : for there are so many Confraternities, so many priviledged Churches, Altars, Monasteries, Correcteries, Offices, Festivals, and so free a Concession of Indulgences appendant to all these, and a thousand fine devices to take away the fear of Purgatory, to commute or expiate Penances,

‘ that

‘ that in no Sect of Men do they with more ease and
 ‘ cheapness reconcile a wicked life with the hopes of
 ‘ Heaven, than in the Roman Communion.’ Yet
 even Men, professing such Doctrines, *if they live*
well, though they *teach ill*, may be tolerated: ‘ their
 ‘ Doctrines by all means, Christian and human, are
 ‘ to be discountenanced; but their *persons* tolerated
 ‘ *eatenus*: their Profession and Decrees to be rejected
 ‘ and condemned, but the persons to be permitted,
 ‘ so far forth as by their lives they confute their
 ‘ Doctrines.

‘ But, if we consider their Doctrines in relation to
 ‘ Government, and Publick Societies of Men, then,
 ‘ if they prove faulty, they are so much the more
 ‘ intolerable by how much the consequents are of
 ‘ greater danger and malice: Such Doctrines as
 ‘ these, the Pope may dispense with all oaths taken
 ‘ to God or Man; He may absolve Subjects from
 ‘ their Allegiance to their natural Prince; Faith is
 ‘ not to be kept with Hereticks; Heretical Princes
 ‘ may be slain by their Subjects.—To other doc-
 ‘ trines ill life *may be* consequent—but in these the
 ‘ ill effect is the direct profession and purpose of the
 ‘ opinion, and therefore the Man and the Man’s
 ‘ opinion is to be dealt with all just as the matter of
 ‘ fact is to be judged; for it is an immediate, a per-
 ‘ ceived, a direct event, and the very purpose of the
 ‘ opinion.—However, if it might happen that Men
 ‘ should sincerely err in such plane matters of fact
 ‘ (for there are fools enough in the World) yet, if
 ‘ he hold his peace, no Man is to persecute or pu-
 ‘ nish him; for then it is mere opinion, which comes
 ‘ not under political cognizance, that is, that cog-
 ‘ nizance which only can punish corporally: but if

‘ he preaches it, he is actually a Traitor, or seditious,
 ‘ or author of Perjury, or a destroyer of human
 ‘ Society, respectively to the nature of the Doc-
 ‘ trine; and the preaching such Doctrines cannot
 ‘ claim the privilege and immunity of a mere opi-
 ‘ nion*.’

Thus we see how the evidence of Bishop *Taylor* turns out: and that although the Christian Charity of the Protestant Bishop is far greater than the honesty of the Popish Historian, who knowingly falsifies his authority to impose upon his Reader: yet amidst all his mildness he declares, that publishing such Doctrines, as our Biographer recommends in this Book, is actual Treason or Sedition.

And could there be any doubt of his treasonable intentions, he is pleased in effect to avow them in the very next paragraph, in which he says, ‘ As the breach
 ‘ of the Nation with the Catholick Church was be-
 ‘ gun and carried on in the two latter reigns by re-
 ‘ nouncing *the Supremacy of the See of Rome*; the
 ‘ acknowledgment of this article seems to have been
 ‘ the characteristick which distinguished the return
 ‘ to the antient Faith in this.*’ So that we cannot be Christians, Professors of the antient Faith, unless we return again to the obedience of the Pope, and acknowledge his Supremacy above the King. Now it will be a consequence easily drawn, that in virtue of this Supremacy, the Pope may depose the
 King,

* P. 86.

* See *Jer. Taylor's Liberty of Prophefying*, Section xx. paragraphs 1, 7, and compare Mr. *Phillips's* account of him, especially in the 2d. Paragraph. Part ii. page 85, 86.

King, and absolve his Subjects from their oath of allegiance. He is indeed 'aware, that the proofs
' of the expediency, and much more of the ne-
' cessity of such a mean, will be admitted with dif-
' ficulty': and this he had good reason to be aware
of, for, in proportion to the mischievousness of the
Doctrine, and the weakness of his proofs, the
greatness of the difficulty of admitting them must
be. The *necessity* he had attempted to prove before,
from Scripture and Councils, with very little success:
the *expediency* of it is what he here labors to shew
from authority. And to catch the unwary Protest-
tant he compliments his knowledge and judgment;
both which he hopes to put asleep by a blind defe-
rence to what he represents as the opinion of the
learned *Grotius*. Let us remember, that the point
to be proved is *the SUPREMACY of the See of Rome*,
or authority of the Pope over these and all Nations,
including all the *Regalia Sancti Petri*. The passage he
gives us thus, 'It is well known, says the learned
' *Grotius*, speaking of himself, that I have always
' wished to see Christians reunited in the same
' Body; and I once thought this conjunction might
' be begun by an union of Protestants among them-
' selves. I have since perceived that this is impossi-
' ble, not only, because the Calvinists are averse to
' all such agreements; but, because Protestants are
' not associated under any one form of Govern-
' ment, and therefore cannot be united in one Body,
' but must necessarily be separated into other new
' Sects and divisions. I, therefore, and many o-
' thers with me, plainly see, that this concord of
' Protestants

‘ Protestants can never be effected, unless they are
 ‘ united to the Roman See, without which no Com-
 ‘ mon Church government can take place ; for
 ‘ which reason I wish, that the Separation, which
 ‘ has been made, and the causes of it, may cease.
 ‘ Now, amongst these, *the Canonical Primacy* of the
 ‘ Bishop of *Rome* cannot, as *Melancthon* himself
 ‘ confesses, be placed ; for he judges that very Pri-
 ‘ macy necessary in order to maintain and preserve
 ‘ unity.^m’ This he tells us in the Note, is *Grotius’s*
 last reply to *Rivet*, written a short time before his
 death. The knowing and judicious Reader will pre-
 sently discern, what the less learned or inattentive
 Reader should be informed of, 1. That this passage
 is not exactly translated ; 2. That the last reply to
Rivet does not, with any absolute certainty, appear
 to have been written by *Grotius* ; for, though it is put
 amongst his works, published by his Son, yet *Grotius*,
 at the end of his *votum pro pace Ecclesiasticâ*, declares
 his resolution there to drop the controversy : and the
 Author of the last reply to *Rivet* always speaks of
Grotius in the third person, whereas, our Translator
 all along renders it in the first person. And lastly,
 supposing it to have been written by *Grotius*, there is
 not a word in support or favor of *the SUPREMACY of*
the See of Rome, implying authority over this or any
 realm, which is the point Mr. *Phillips* is recom-
 mending ; but *a Canonical Primacy* to the Bishop of
Rome, in express contradiction to that usurped Su-
 premacy ; for so the next words declare, ‘ for this
 ‘ is not subjecting the Church to the will and plea-
 ‘ sure of the Pope, but restoring the Order wisely
 ‘ established.*’

* established.*' With what good faith was this last clause omitted? or is Mr. *Phillips* weak enough to believe, that knowing and judicious Protestants are to be reclaimed by such dishonest tricks as these? The union of Protestants among one another, and of all with the Bishop of *Rome* is an Happiness which every serious good Christian must desire: but the union was destroyed and the Schism made, by that Bishop's lifting himself up above his place; let him give up his usurped Supremacy, or authority over Equals, and that Protestant will be to blame, who shall then deny him his Canonical Primacy, or Priority among Equals. Till that is done, we ought to be, what *Christ* intended we should be, in Spirituals subject to our local Bishops, under the direction of the Gospel, and protection of the Civil Power, on such conditions as the compact and covenants of our several constitutions shall delineate. And till that is done, *Grotius* thought the Schism was in the Pope rather than in the Protestants; for he continued to communicate with the latter to the day

* Calvinistarum ingenia *fermè omnium* ab omni pace sunt alienissima...ita planè *sensit Grotius*, et multi cum *ipso*, non posse Protestantes inter se jungi, nisi simul jungantur cum iis, qui *sedì Romanæ coherent*; sine quâ nullum sperari potest in Ecclesiâ commune regimen. Ideo optat, ut ea divisio quæ evenit, et causæ divulsionis tollantur. Inter eas causas non est *Primatus Episcopi Romani secundum Canones*, fatente *Melancthone*, qui eum primatum etiam necessarium putat ad retinendam unitatem. Neque enim hoc est ecclesiam subicere Pontificis LIBIDINI, sed reponere ordinem sapienter institutum. Rivetiani apologetici pro schismate, contra votum pacis facti, Discussio. p. 744. column 2.

day of his death. And, as *Burigny* acknowledgesⁿ, declared a little before his death in a Letter to Baron *Oxenstiern*, that ‘ it would be very difficult to make
 ‘ even the Primacy of the Bishop of *Rome* useful,
 ‘ or even to keep it from being hurtful.’ Nor did he only prefer the Protestant’s profession of faith before the Roman, but, among Protestants, gave the preference to the Church of *England*; as appears by his Son’s Dedication of his Father’s Theological Works to *Charles II.* ‘ You are He, whom, if not the
 ‘ greater, yet certainly the sounder part of the
 ‘ Christian World acknowledges for its Protector.---
 ‘ in whose realms, chiefly, that skill in the sacred
 ‘ Writings, that religious Worship, that just restraint on the too curious disputings of the articles of
 ‘ faith is received, with which the Author my Father has long since testified his assent*. This assent he testified in a Letter to a *Dutch* Divine, ‘ you
 ‘ see how happily the Reformation of mischievous
 ‘ Doctrines hath proceeded in *England*, for this reason chiefly, because the Reformers admitted nothing
 ‘ novel, nothing out of their own head, but kept
 ‘ their eyes steadily fixt on the better ages of Christianity†.

ⁿ L. 6. numb. 24. pag. 240.

* Tu enim inter omnes Reges unus ille es, quem protectorem suum pars Christiani orbis, si non major, sanior certè jamdiu agnoscit...cujus potissimum in regnis, is sacrarum literarum intellectos, is Divini Numinis cultus, is in exercenda nimia illâ disputandi de arcanis fidei dogmatibus licentiâ, receptus est modus, quibuscum convenire se auctor idem et parens meus, jam pridem testatus et publice scriptis his professus est. Petri Grotii Dedication, A. D. 1679.

‘ anity.†’ The English Service, he says, has been always reputed the best ; he advised the Remonstrants to receive Episcopal Ordination at the hands of our Bishops ; and declared himself Body and Soul for it, and that it was the likeliest to last of any Church this day in being : he intended to be of it as soon as he had discharged the Embassy, in which the Queen of *Sweden* had employed him ; and recommended it to his wife ; who in compliance with his request communicated with it. These Testimonies, of which I have only given the substance, may be seen collected at the end of *Le Clerc’s* edition of *Grotius de Veritate*. Such being the judgment of the learned *Grotius*, I hope the knowing and judicious Mr. *Phillips* will pay a deference to the authority, to which he himself has appealed.

But conscious that *Grotius* is not with him, he does not chuse to rest the cause entirely on his authority ; and therefore appeals, in his Note, to the judgment of other Protestant Divines of our Country, on this point.

The first is Dr. *Field’s* preface to his book on the Church ; but what shall we do if Dr. *Field’s* book on the Church has *no preface* ? I suppose we must then take up with his *Epistle Dedicatory* to Archbishop *Bancroft* ; but there is no prerogative ascribed in it to the Church of *Rome* ; on the contrary, there is a strong assertion of what the whole book is intended to prove, that we of the Church of *England* ‘ have
‘ not

† In Anglia vides quam bene processerit dogmatum noxiorum repurgatio, hac maximè de causa, quod qui id sanctissimum negotium procurandum suscepere, nihil admiserint novi, nihil sui, sed ad meliora sæcula intentam habuere oculorum aciem. Ep. ad Joan. Corvinum.

‘ not departed from the antient faith, nor forsaken
 ‘ the fellowship of the Catholick Church ; but that
 ‘ we have forsaken a *part* to hold communion with
 ‘ the *whole* ; led to do so by the most prevailing rea-
 ‘ sons that ever persuaded Men, and the greatest au-
 ‘ thority on earth.’ He does not speak one word in
 it concerning the Pope’s Supremacy, excepting
 where he mentions, ‘ some Men, serving as vile In-
 ‘ struments to advance the Tyranny of the Bishop
 ‘ of *Rome* :...who, though they proclaim their own
 ‘ praises with loud founding trumpets...and magnify
 ‘ themselves, as if all wit and learning had been
 ‘ born with them, and should die with them ; yet,
 ‘ whosoever knoweth them will little regard the froth
 ‘ of their swelling words of pride and scorn : see-
 ‘ ing, when they have done vaunting, they have done
 ‘ their best, and that which remaineth, is little
 ‘ worth ; their allegations being for the most part
 ‘ but falsifications ; their testimonies of antiquity,
 ‘ the marks and notes of their ancient forgeries ;
 ‘ their reasons, sophisms ; their reports, slanders and
 ‘ calumnation.’ Whom this description will suit,
 Mr. *Phillips* will do well to consider.

The next Protestant Divine is Dr. *Hammond*, in
 his treatise on heresy, §. 13. numb. 2, 3. and his
 Comment on 1 Tim. iii. 15. In the first of these
 passages is the beginning of a proof, on which he
 afterwards enlarges, that it is neither affirmed by
 the word of God, nor deducible from it, that a Ge-
 neral Council (by which he means the whole Church
 representative) cannot or shall not err ; which, yet
 he says is *probable, and piously to be believed, though not*
infallibly certain ; but adds, that though it were to
 err, *the Church might still remain a Church* ; and that

as for the authority of the present Roman Church, we cannot receive from their sole testimony any part of Christian Doctrine. In the other passage, he ascribes the title of *pillar and ground of truth* to every particular Church, as well as to the Universal, and says that every Bishop hath a Commission from *Christ* immediately, who administers the affairs of the Church by THEM, not by any one *œconomus* or *Vicar*.

Dr. Jackson, in the place quoted, complains, that the Papists demand infallible assent and unlimited obedience unto whatsoever the Church shall propose, without examination of her Doctrine, or appeal: which is indeed to take away all the authority of God's Word. And that others, in eagerness of opposition to the Papists, take away authority of spiritual Pastors. There is nothing else to the purpose of Mr. Phillips in the place to which he refers. And I think it had been wiser in him, if he had permitted his inquisitive Readers to have continued ignorant of these passages. I am confident they will never convert a Protestant to Popery; what contrary effect his unfair dealing, and their reasoning may have, I cannot say: I know what it ought to have.

Aware that he had been too indiscrete in referring so particularly to the passages above, he thinks it more prudent to refer to Dr. Ferne in the gross, without book, chapter, or page. The other Authors, whom he hath quoted or referred to, are so far from answering his purpose, that instead of searching and guessing which book, or passage in a book of Dr. Ferne, he may have in his view, I shall take the liberty of appealing to the Reader, whether he can be too much on his guard against so gross a Misrepresenter.

After

§. 26. *The Church and Abbey Lands.*

After thus vainly endeavouring to render the notions of his Church palatable to Protestant Readers, he next attempts to level a great obstacle, which lies in the way to check our return to the Church of *Rome*, as a Nation, from the insecurity apprehended to the Possessors of Abbey and Church Lands, should either a too favorable opinion of Popish Doctrines, or an indifference to any, incline them to make that return. The removing of this impediment is essential to his manifest Design; it is therefore no wonder we see him labor this point so much: And to leave the impression strong on the Reader's mind, he tells him, 'The Possessors, therefore, of Church Lands have all the security which the nature of the case admits; and no private property seems to be held by so firm a tenure. The publick good and tranquillity both of the Church and state was the inducement to this conveyance, in which the authority of the See of *Rome* confirmed the petition of a national Clergy, which was the injured party; and the unanimous consent of the whole Legislature of a great people: all which was ratified by the Legate's full power and actual dispensation.—Could a transaction, which carries with it every condition by which human compacts are rendered stable, stand in need of any weight which the Writer can give it, I think it may be affirmed, that nothing less than the joint concurrence of all the Parties, who assented to this agreement, can either annul or invalidate it: and I have entered on this detail, because

because, from views which need not be indicated, no part of our history has been related with more want of good faith, and left the Reader open to greater prejudices.^o These transactions, he says, are so honorable to the Church of *Rome*, that no one will wonder the Adversaries of that Communion, because they could not deny the facts, should either misrepresent them, or, like the Poet, call off the Reader's attention from the principal action to incidents which fancy forms round it.^p Yet he has mentioned no one instance of their calling off their Reader's attention thus; and therefore he must be understood to have forged this accusation merely to introduce a proof of his acquaintance with *Virgil*. But surely never man chose out so strange a line for that purpose, as this Zealot for the Celibacy of the Clergy has done.

Speluncam Dido Dux et Trojanus eandem
Æn. iv. v. 165.

is the line to which he points. What connection his fancy has formed of the Possessions of Monks and Nuns with this private scene of amorous intercourse; or what adventure of his Life or propensity of his mind has impressed it so strongly on his imagination that he must needs bring it in here by head and shoulders, I cannot undertake to explain. They who know him, perhaps may. The conduct of the Poet is decent and beautiful on this occasion: Having brought the Lovers together, he draws off the attention of the Reader from the Adventure of the Cave, to the signs of Divine
T displeasure

displeasure at such unlawful Congresses. On the contrary, Mr. *Phillips* fixes the Reader's attention to the single affair of the Cave, and scoffs at the digression to the signs of Divine displeasure as fanciful incidents. I know not which to wonder at most, his *Moral Sense* or his *Poetical Taste*! And if Protestants had imitated *Virgil's* delicacy in this instance, by calling off the Reader's attention from the Delusive Grants of Popes to warn them of the probable dangerous effects of trusting to them, though at present those effects are only incidents of fancy, the Abbey Land owners could have no reason to censure them.

But to return from incidents to the principal point: we have already seen that *Julius III.* in his General Powers to *Pole* as Legate, gave leave to transact and agree with them about their moveables and rents already received, provided they first restored the Lands; but left it to the Legate's discretion, whether the restitution should be before or after the agreement⁹. The Emperour and the Queen knew that a permission to keep the moveables only, would never buy the Abbey Land Possessors to submit to the Pope's Supremacy; and the Legate was afraid to come on that Commission: more special powers therefore were desired from *Rome*, and granted by *Julius*; in which the Legate is impowered to transact and agree with the Possessors, as well for the⁶ *Lands* as for the *Goods*; but with two restrictions: not with all in general, but with those particular persons whom the King and Queen shall recommend; and reserving to himself the confirmation in all great
and

⁹ Vide Burnet, vol. iii. numb. 17.

and weighty cases^r, to be referred to him at the discretion of the Legate. On the strength of this last Commission he ventured over. When he came, he found a *general* discharge was necessary; for in the very beginning of *December* the Parliament sent a post to *Rome*, acquainting the Pope plainly, that neither the Lords or Commons would grant any thing in his behalf, until he would confirm to them their Purchases, and settle their Sales of Abbey Lands and Chauntries^s. Therefore, to keep within the letter, though not the intent of the Commission, the Province of *Canterbury*, in behalf of the Church, whose possessions were alienated, waiving the right, which the Canons gave them to demand restitution, petitioned their Majesties to intercede with the Legate, that to avoid disturbances, he would confirm their Lands and Moveables to the present Possessors, and that he would not be difficult or restrained in his permission. Thus *all* were interceded for, and all indemnified by Apostolical authority, never, either now or hereafter, to be molested or disturbed in their possessions by Canons of General Councils or Decretal Epistles, or made subject to any Ecclesiastical Censures on that account^t. Ample as this Grant from the Legate was, they thought it necessary to send Ambassadors to procure a confirmation from the Pope. One of these was Lord *Montacute*, whom Mr. *Phillips* still mistakes for a Nephew of the Legate's, who never existed: the Legate indeed mentions him to the Pope as his Relation; and so *Anthony Brown*, Viscount *Montacute*

T 2

was,

^r Ibid, numb. 21.

161.

^s Strype's Mem. vol. iii. p.

^t Ibid. Original. numb. xxii.

was, but not his Nephew. The Biographer gives a very inconsistent account of their setting out on their Embassy, and of his Letter of recommendation : saying, ‘ they set out towards the end of *February*,’ and that ‘ *some time before* they began their journey, the Legate had sent a very honorable testimony of them to the Pope :’ now how a Letter, written the 10th of *March* (as he truly dates it) could be sent *some time before* the end of *February*, is a riddle which requires the solution of a *Phillips*. Bishop *Burnet* says, the Bull of confirmation was asked by the Ambassadors, but denied by the Pope^u. And *Fra. Paolo* informs us, that the Pope ‘ signified, to the Ambassadors, his displeasure that the Church Lands were not given back, and insisted on the necessity of a restitution, as such dispensations were beyond the extent of his power.’^w This Mr. *Phillips* says, ‘ is sufficiently refuted by the Journal of the House of Commons, which informs us, that a Bull of the Pope was read, which confirmed what the Lord Cardinal had done concerning the assurance of Abbey Lands.’^x This was read *Oct.* 21, 1555. And might not the Pope bluster in *June*, and yet see cause to comply before *October*? But ‘ there is not the least trace of what *Fra. Paolo* asserts, either in the Journal of the Confessories, which the Pope held on this occasion ; or in his Letter to the King and Queen.’^y It was not reasonable to expect to find recorded in those Journals or in that publick Letter the substance of the Pope’s private conference with the Ambassadors

^u Introduction to vol. iii. p. 13. ^w Phillips, p. 95.
 from *Fra. Paolo*, lib 5. ^x P. 95. ^y P. 96.

dours ; yet perhaps there is some no very obscure trace in that Letter, of what *Fra. Paolo* asserts, in that clause, where the Pope promises to make it his business to comply with all their requests, which he trusts will be only such as may be honestly asked, *as far as God permits**.

However, Mr. *Phillips* affirms, that the Bull of Confirmation was granted. For which he quotes the Journal of the House of Commons, Oct. 21, 1555, and the Letter above-mentioned from the Pope to *Philip* and *Mary*, in which he says (according to Mr. *Phillips*) ‘ that he had
‘ ratified WHATEVER the English Legate had done ;
‘ and, as far as might any way be necessary, had
‘ enacted it anew.^z’ But the WHATEVER, in *Phillips*, which might seem to include the Confirmation of the Church Lands, is, in the Original, expressly restrained to *the pardon and absolution* which the Legate gave, and which the Pope approves and renews†. And we know further, that this Bull of Confirmation was not granted when this Letter was written. It is dated the 30th *June* : but I find the Bishop of *Ely*, one of those Ambassadors, at Council at *Greenwich*, 16 *Sept.* following, on which day the Legate informs King *Philip*, by Letter, that he expected

^z P. 106.

* Nos enim omnem operam navabimus in his et omnibus aliis vestris desideriis, quæ non nisi honestissima fore confidimus, ut *quantum cum Deo poterimus*, satisfaciamus. Quirin. part 5. p. 139.

† Legati literas, quæ veniæ et absolutionis ipsius fidem faciebant, nobis demum porrigerent, non solum *veniam et absolutionem ipsum approbavimus*, sed quatenus opus esset, denuo dedimus. Quirini, part 5. p. 137.

pected the return of his Messenger from *Rome*, with the Bull. This proof therefore fails our Biographer. But he tells us it was read in the House of Commons, *Oct.* 21, 1555. It was so, just after they had chosen their Speaker. But it is a maxim in Law, *non apparere & non esse idem est* : an evidence that cannot be produced is none. And pray where is this Bull to be found ? not in the *Bullarium*, nor any where else that I know of. And should we hereafter have occasion to plead it, I fear neither the Journal of the House of Commons, nor even Mr. *Phillips's* Testimony will be taken in the Court of *Rome*.

So that admitting the Bull was granted, and even supposing that it may be produced, which I do not believe ; yet where is our security ? For that very Pope, just before he is supposed to have granted this Bull (on the 14 *July* preceding) ‘ rescinds and renders void and null all and singular alienations, or leases for above three years, of all Church Lands or appurtenances, though made by Popes, or others, even Cardinals, by their authority and command, according to the Decrees of Pope *Symmachus* and *Paul II.* who forbad such alienations under an *anathema*, and commanded restitution and satisfaction, and to compel the refractory by Ecclesiastical pains and censures.^a’ This was warning beforehand not to trust his Bull too far. And accordingly the Princes of *Germany* trust to no Grants with relation to the Church Lands, of which they possessed themselves, but by the Treaties and Guaranties into which they entered with one another.^b

And

^a Burnet, vol. iii. Records, numb. 1.
Introduct.

^b Ibid.

And a *suspicion of the invalidity* of the Pope's general Confirmation appears from an evidence produced by our Biographer *in proof of its validity*; which is a special Decree of the same Pope, which confirms the Lands held by Sir *William Petre*^c. This being *after* the above confirmation, shews that the final Decree so much boasted of, to exempt the Abbey Lands in general from revocation, were judged, by Sir *William Petre* at least, insufficient, without the particular Confirmation of the Pope. And what security could his General or Particular Confirmation give, against the Bull of any future Pope, formed on the plan of that which he himself published the 14 of *July*, rescinding and voiding all alienations, though made by Popes or their Legates, though sworn to or strengthened by long prescription†. Especially, since as we know not where to find the Bull, we know not *in what form* it passed: and by a Bull of *Pius V.* dated *Jan. 1, 1569*, all alienations are annulled, for being made, either without Licences from the Apostolick See, or if the form of those Licences is not observed, or they should be otherwise to the manifest loss and prejudice of Churches, Monasteries, Benefices, and other Holy Places||. And he

• P. 96.

† Et contractus superinde sub quibuscvis formis, et verborum expressionibus habitos et celebratos, etiam si juramento vallati existant, & quantumvis longâ temporis præscriptione robur sumpsisse dici possunt. Bulla Pauli IV. Burn, vol. iii. Records, numb. 1.

|| — Seu illarum formâ non servatâ, aut alias in evidens damnum Ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, beneficiorum, et piorum locorum hujusmodi. Bulla Pii V. Jan. 1, 1559.

he enables the persons to whom he grants this Bull, to make void all contracts of this kind, though confirmed by oath§. This may be found in the *Bullarium*, although the Confirmation of *Pole's* transactions with the Abbey Land Owners cannot. May we not conjecture that it was purposely omitted, either that it might be denied; or might not be examined, till one was produced, or forged, with as many nullities in it as they pleased? If we think the Popes of this Century are more reserved in rescinding pacts and covenants, we find a revocation of a treaty in favor of Protestants so late as 1712, by *Clement XI*. An extract from which the Reader may see at the bottom *; and judge of the security of the Abbey Land Owners.

Nay,

§ Sub quibuscvis formis et verborum expressionibus habitos et celebratos, etiamsi, juramento vallati existant. Ibid.

* Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Carolo—in Romanorum Imperatorem electo, *Clemens* P. P. XI.

—Majestati tuæ per præsentēs denunciāmus, ac insimul traditā nobis ab omnipotenti Deo auctoritate declaramus prænarratas dicti Tractatus Altranstadenſis pactiones, cæteraque in eo contenta, quæ Catholicæ Fidei, divino cultui, animarum salutē, Ecclesiæque auctoritati, Jurisdictioni, Libertati, ac Juribus quibuscunque quomodolibet officiunt, sive præjudiciū etiam minimum afferant, aut inferre, seu intulisse, vel alias nocere, seu nocuisse quoquomodo dici, censerī, pretendi, vel intelligi possent, cum omnibus & singulis inde secutis, et quomodocunque secuturis, ipso jure nulla, irrita, invalida, injusta, reprobata, inania, viribusque et effectu penitus ac omnino vacua ab ipso initio fuisse, et esse, ac perpetuò fore, neminemque ad illorum, seu cujuslibet eorum, etiamsi pluries ratificata, ac juramento vallata sint, observantiam teneri, imò nec illa ullatenus a quoquam observari potuisse, ac debuisse, aut posse, aut debere

Nay, at the very time of *Pole's* transaction, a restitution was intended by some means or other : at first by *persuasion*, for the operation of which, the Mortmain Act was suspended for twenty years, and the Legate ‘ admonished them to place before their
 ‘ eyes the severity of God’s judgments on *Belshaz-*
 ‘ *zar* King of *Babylon*, for appropriating the sacred
 ‘ Vessels to a profane use, though not He, but his
 ‘ Father, had taken them out of the Temple of *Je-*
 ‘ *rusalem* ; and that this example should prevale on
 ‘ them to restore all such Vessels (and Lands by the
 ‘ same rule) to the Churches, to which they had
 ‘ formerly belonged, or others.^d’ To lead the way
 by a more present and effectual *example*, the King and Queen gave back all their Lands ; and what recoveries might they not expect to make in twenty years time, especially on death beds, when the dying persons, terrified with being under the curse of two Popes, to escape Purgatory and even Hell fire, might easily be induced to cheat their Heirs by a restitution of Lands which they could no longer enjoy ? And if such *persuasions* and *examples* should fail of the desired effect, *force*, we may venture to say, was intended, because force was threatned. For what else is the meaning of the following speech, which the Legate made to the Citizens of *London* in 1557, when

^d P. 92.

debere, neque ex illis cuiquam aliquod jus, vel actionem, aut titulum, etiam coloratum, vel possidendi, ac præscribendi Causam, acquisitum, vel acquisitam fuisse, nec esse.—Pactiones prædictas—harum serie improbamus, rescindimus, cassamus, irritamus, viribusque et effectū penitus ac omnino vacuamus.—Inter Epistolas & Brevia *Clementis XI.* fol. Rom. 1724. p. 178.

when they commemorated the return of the Kingdom to Popery, long after his own and the Pope's supposed ratification: ' And this I say now to you, ' who by license and dispensation, do enjoy, keep, ' and possess such Goods and Lands of the Church, ' as were found in your hands, that this was done of ' the Church your Mother's tenderness unto you, ' considering your imbecillity and weakness, after ' so sore a sickness that you had in a Schism, when ' your appetite served you to no meat, but to that ' fruit that came from the Lands of the Church, and ' by that you lived. Which she was content you ' should keep still, and made promise it should not ' be taken from you; and so it was left in your ' hand, as it were an apple in a Child's hand, given ' by the Mother, which she perceiving him to feed ' too much of, and knowing it should do him hurt, ' if he himself should eat the whole, would have ' him give her a little piece thereof; which the boy ' refusing, and whereas he would cry out if she ' would take it from him, let him alone with it: ' but the Father her Husband coming in, if he ' should see how the boy will not let go one morsel ' to the Mother, who hath given him the whole, ' she asking it with so fair means, he may, peradventure, take the apple out of the boy's hand, and ' if he cry, beat him also, and throw the apple out ' of the window.*' This sure needs no comment: so that although the Possessors of Church Lands have all the security which the nature of the case admits, that is but slender comfort, when they see the case admits of none: no grants from Cardinals
or

* Strype's Mem. vol. iii. Origin. numb. lxviii.

or Popes, though ratified by oaths, and claimed by ever so long prescription can avale any thing, if we are foolish enough to give the Pope a Power of rescinding them by his Bulls. We know his disposition to call us naughty boys for keeping this apple; if we again submit to the discipline of that Step-mother Church, she, we see, will endeavour to wheedle it out of our hands; and if that will not do, though the Legate is pleased to say, that 'she of herself will never constrain us further,' yet Holy Father, the Pope, who assumes to do the office of *Christ*, the Church's Spouse, will force it out of our hands, and beat us into the bargain if we cry. What becomes now of the weight of this Writer's judgments who affirms, 'that nothing less than the joint concurrence of all the parties, who assented to this agreement, can either annul or invalidate it.' In some sense indeed this is true; for so long as we are resolute to keep out Popery, so long these Possessions are safe: but if King, Convocation, Lords, Commons, and the people they represent, are wicked, indifferent, or weak enough to restore the Pope's power in this realm, all parties then may be said to concur in annulling that agreement, which we know the Pope has a desire to rescind, and which he cannot do, unless by acknowledging his Supremacy we give him the authority to do it: whether this is likely to prove a prevailing argument with us to acknowledge that Supremacy, this able Advocate for it may consider; and what thanks he is to expect from his own partisans, for thus calling us to put our people on their guard against such daring falsehoods and misrepresentations. His base treatment of Bishop *Taylor* to recommend their doctrine, and his labored endeavours

vours to soften our abhorrence of the Supremacy, by giving a fallacious security to the Abbey Land Owners, is a sufficient proof of his general design ; that it was not to write the Life of *Reginald Pole*, but to use him as a stalking-horse to shoot, under cover, at unwary birds. Two other like attempts I shall have occasion to take notice of ; 1. to lower our regard for *Cranmer's* memory, whose learning and virtues we have been long accustomed to admire ; 2. to lessen our aversion from Popery, occasioned by the detestable cruelties of this reign. But before I examine them as entering into the Design of his work, I shall note one or two more inaccuracies in the execution of it.

Our Biographer having once more reminded us of *Pole's* talents for negotiation, by giving us a fresh instance of his ill success at it in another fruitless attempt to reconcile the Empire and *France* ; at which time *Gardiner*, the Chancellor, confirms, by his judgment, the suspicion we have been led hitherto to make of the Cardinal, saying, ‘ he was doubtful if the Legate’s abilities were answerable to such an undertaking, unless he was assisted by persons more expert than himself^f :’ and having given us also as much reason to admire his judgment in Divinity, by acquainting us, that at his return from *Marc*, He and *Gardiner* joined together to banish Hebrew out of the University of *Oxford*, and introduce, instead of the Bible, the sentences of *Peter of Lombardy* as a more useful book^g ; he proceeds to give us an account of *Pole's* Reformation, whose intention, he informs us, was to revive the Constitu-

tions

^f P. 109.

^g P. 117.

tions of *Otho* and *Ottobonus*, formerly Legates and Archbishops of *Canterbury*^h. Archbishops of *Canterbury* were Legates by their Office; therefore it had been needless to have added *Legates* when Archbishops of that See are mentioned: but *Otho* and *Ottobon* were Legates *à latere*, and not Archbishops. The first was Cardinal of St. *Nicholas*, *in carcere*, and Legate to Pope *Gregory IX.* A. D. 1237, in the 21st of *Henry III.* How good soever his *Constitutions* may have been his business here was to fleece the Ecclesiasticks; for the like purpose he kindly intended to have gone into *Scotland*; but that King desired none of his Apostolical Visitations, and forbad his entrance: *Ottobon* was Cardinal Deacon of St. *Adrian*, Legate to *Clement IV.* A. D. 1268, in the 52d. of the same *Henry*; whose business there was to publish a Crusade, and extort money from the English on that pretense.

In the same account he mentions the care taken about examination for Orders, in which, one particular they were to attend to was, that the Candidate be born in lawful wedlock: and that the Bishops should lay aside human respects and affection, and confer the Benefices of the Church, to the best qualified. Then stops to observe, ‘ I must here ask the
 ‘ Reader’s leave to interrupt the account of the
 ‘ Council, by an instance which the Legate gave of
 ‘ the exactness with which he practised what he
 ‘ prescribed to others: for having a natural Brother,
 ‘ who during *Henry’s* reign, had been Arch-
 ‘ deacon of *Derby*, He conferred no higher Dignity
 ‘ on him, till two years after his return to *England*,
 ‘ and then only procured for him the See of *Peter-*
 ‘ *borough*, which was one of the least provided for
 ‘ of

of the Bishopricks.ⁱ And Bishop *Burnet*, with a Candor, to which on many occasions Mr. *Phillips* makes a very ungrateful return, praises *Pole* on this account. But indeed it was hardly worth while for Mr. *Phillips* to interrupt the Reader to make an observation so little to the Legate's honor, as he states it; for if persons not born in lawful Wedlock were not qualified for Orders *at all*, surely his natural Brother could not be the *best* qualified for a Bishoprick: the Biographer here has rather disgraced, than exalted his Hero, and perhaps at the expence of truth; for I shall very readily vindicate Cardinal *Pole* from the defamation of his Panegyrist, where I have any room for it. *Strype*, in his corrections of Bishop *Burnet's* History, says, *David* (the person here meant) was not his Brother, nor a Bastard; for there is no Bull of dispensation in his favor, among those sent over at that time. I doubt not but he was a relation: neither did the Cardinal forget, or overlook him so long; for in little more than a year after his coming into *England*, he was made Dean of the Peculiars, and in a few days after, Dean of the Arches, Judge of the Audience, and Vicar General to the Archbishop. Neither was *Peterborough* at that time the least provided for of the Bishopricks; for, *Harmer* says, *Peterborough* was endowed by King *Henry* far above any of the new erected Bishopricks, and made equal in revenue to most of the antient Bishopricks; and so continued, till *Scambler*, the Successor of this *David Pole*, did by a simoniacal contract convey away the better part of the Possessions of it to a noble person of the neighbourhood^m.

Our

ⁱ P. 131.

¹ Newcourt.

^k Burnet, vol. iii. Append. p. 422.

^m Harmer, p. 146.

§. 27. *Death*
of Cranmer.

Our Author collects all his rage and malice at *Cranmer's* name, and strains every nerve in his fierce attack upon this *Hero of the Protestant Party*, and hopes effectually to demolish the Reformation by overthrowing this *main Pillar of it*ⁿ. But had not very modern Popery, which Bishop *Burnet* might justly have compared; though he did not, to *Circe's* wand, enchanted him, he had never supposed that our Church, like theirs*, was built on the frail person of a Man. The Reformation builds upon a rock, removing the hay and stubble, the perishing materials heaped on it by Popes, to secure our Church a firmer establishment on *Christ* the foundation. *Cranmer* we look upon but as an Instrument raised by God to clear away the rubbish; and whatever his personal frailties or infirmities may have been, for *Christ* has appointed men not angels for the work of his ministry here, the Doctrines of the Gospel, by him restored, are not the less pure, nor the corruptions he pointed out less abominable :

* P. 158.

* Quis enim in Petri infirmitate Ecclesiæ firmitatem stabiliat? de cujus firmitate ancilla ostiaria interrogata respondeat. Ad cujus vocem (ut Gregorius ait) dum mori timuit, vitam negavit. Cum ergo vacillaverit Petrus, nec firmus fundatus sit Petri vicarius, cumque jam discrepent de summo Petri sacerdotio Pontifices, et litigent de summo Pontificio sacerdotes, quis affirmare presumat quempiam quantalibet sanctitate, aut dignitate fulgentem sive sacerdotem, sive Pontificem, sive Petrum, sive Petri vicarium, aut quemvis alium præter Christum esse Christianæ Ecclesiæ fundamentum? Petri de Aliaco Cardin. Camerac. Recommendatio Sacræ Script. anno 1500.

abominable : and the better use we make of that Blessing which he, by his labor among us, procured for us, we shall *esteem him the more highly in love for his works sake*, whatever his faults were in other respects.

Yet if he thinks the faults of *Cranmer* are sufficient to condemn the Religion he profess, however unjust and inconclusive it may be to infer the falseness of Doctrines from the imperfections of those who profess them ; if this Writer, is for reducing the War to a Duel, we need not decline the combat, or be afraid to pitch our Leader against theirs, during the whole time he sate in the See of *Canterbury* : nay, let him take his advantage and produce his four Popes, who were cotemporary Bishops with him against this single Chief, *Clement VII. Paul III. Julius III. and Paul IV.* The life of every one of them was more faulty than his ; and his virtues more amiable than those of the whole Four put together. *Clemens VII.* was noted for avarice*, dissimulation†, extortion‡, simony§, unnatural
lusts§,

* Quum fatali adductus avaritiâ omnes ordines afflisset.—Jovius, Hist. sui temp. tom. ii. p. 32.

† Ea siquidem erat ejus ingenii parsimonia et dissimulatione gaudentis. Jovius in vitâ Pomp.

‡ Sacerdotes inusitatis decumis onerarat, officiorum collegiis redditus averterat, salariaque in gymnasio antiquitus ex certo vectigali liberaliter constituta professoribus cum perenni infamiæ notâ subtraxerat—horreorum monopoliis, magni fici questu, annona ad triplum crevisset. Ibid.

§ Purpurei galeri tres concessi, ut illis licitantibus qui sædâ ambitione corrupti ad senatoriam dignitatem adspirabant, aurum proferrent, eo modo adhastam propositis emptores non defuere. Ibid.

lusts§, and murder¶. *Paul III.* for debauching Maidens, corrupting Matrons, Simony, Murder, Incest, and Parricide°. *Julius III.* for voluptuousness and Sodomy^p. *Marcellus II.* was but twenty-two days a Pope, and if he was not yet bad, he feared he must be so, if he lived, for he thought it impossible for a Pope to be saved. *Paul IV.* needs no blacker colors than those in which our Biographer has painted him. Even had all, that the malice of this Writer charges *Cranmer* with, been justly charged, it had been imprudent to have put the cause between us on this issue. But let us examine the charge.

‘ *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, had been one of the chief promoters of *Henry’s* separation from *Catherine of Aragon*, Mother to the Queen; and had moreover pronounced the sentence of the Divorce.^q’ He might be chief as to skill and abilities, but not the first adviser or projector, *Wolsey*, *Gardiner*, *Longland*, and *Fox*, all Popish Bishops, having been engaged two or three years in it, before *Cranmer* had been at all consulted. His advice indeed had better effect and success than theirs had; such was the soundness of his judgment: which *Gardiner* so approved of, that he not only recommended it to the King, but recommended it as his own. ‘ Moreover, he pronounced

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° See *Sleiden Hist.* lib. 21. ^p *Ibid.* ^q *P.* 145.

§ *Neminem enim planè oderat, quum neminem adamaret, præterquam ab occultiore causâ conciliatos.* *Jov. Hist.* tom. ii. lib. 32.

¶ He was supposed to have made away with many Cardinals, whom he suspected to stand in his way to the Papal Chair. See *Schelhorne Amænit. Hist. Eccles.* vol. ii. p. 315, 316.

‘ the sentence of Divorce.^r’ He did so, being by office, first in the Commission ; but *Gardiner*, *Longland*, and *Clark* were his Assessors, and equally criminal, if there was any crime in that sentence. ‘ He had subscribed to the change of the Settlement made by Parliament, to set aside the Princesses ‘ *Mary* and *Elisabeth*.^s’ So did all the Council ; but he alone argued and remonstrated against it. He alone had the courage to refuse it, notwithstanding the frowns and the power of *Northumberland* ; nay, when silenced by the opinion of the Judges and Lawyers against him, he still withheld his hand in justice to the Princess ; and was the last that yielded, and that too not before he was importuned, and almost upbraided by his beloved Prince ; as we see expressly mentioned in a MS. to which Mr. *Strype* refers in his *Memorials* of Archbishop *Cranmer*. ‘ When the Council and the Chief Judges had set ‘ their hands to the King’s will, *last of all* they sent ‘ for the Archbishop, requiring him also to subscribe the same will, as they had done. Who ‘ answered that he might not without perjury.^t’ In which MS. and the Archbishop’s Letter to the Queen, in the Appendix to the *Memorials*, may be seen how honestly the Archbishop withstood this business of the Settlement ; whom yet this false Accuser is not ashamed to represent as at the head of it. Most of the rest were pardoned ; and he, abundantly the least guilty of all, was attainted. ‘ His name was ‘ at the head of that treasonable and reproachful ‘ declaration, in which the legitimacy of his Sovereign’s

^r P. 145.^s Ibid.^t *Memorials*, p. 246.^u Ibid.

‘ reign’s birth was denied.^u’ This is the third time
 this Equivocation has been employed : his office gave
 him the *first* place in signing it. And if he was *at*
the head of those who signed the declaration on the
 19th *July* in favor of the Lady *Jane*, he was also *at*
the head of those, who, on the very next day, re-
 quired the Duke of *Northumberland* to submit to
 Queen *Mary*, on peril of being taken for a Traitor.
 ‘ And he had aggravated these misdemeanors by
 ‘ spreading seditious libels, and raising tumults.^w’
 This is something like *Pole*’s threat, of snatching a-
 way the boy’s apple, and then whipping him for cry-
 ing : the Papists had spread false and scandalous re-
 ports of *Cranmer*, and then called his vindication
 of himself a libel. The libel shall speak for itself ;
 ‘ Whereas some have abused the name of me, *Tho-*
 ‘ *mas*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, bruting abroad,
 ‘ that I have set up the Mass at *Canterbury* ; and that
 ‘ I offered to say Mass before the Queen’s Highness,
 ‘ and at *Paul’s Church*, and I wot not where. I
 ‘ have been well exercised these twenty years, to
 ‘ suffer and bear evil reports and lies ; and have not
 ‘ been much grieved thereat, and have borne all
 ‘ things quietly ; yet, when untrue reports and lies
 ‘ turn to the hindrance of God’s truth, they be in
 ‘ no wise to be tolerated and suffered. Wherefore
 ‘ these be to signify to the World, that it was not I
 ‘ that did set up the Mass at *Canterbury*, but it was
 ‘ a false, flattering, lying and dissembling Monk,
 ‘ which caused the Mass to be set up there, without
 ‘ my Advice or Counsel. And as for offering my-
 ‘ self to say Mass before the Queen’s Highness, or

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‘ in

' in any other place, I never did, as her Grace
 ' knoweth well. But if her Grace will give me
 ' leave---I, with Mr. *Peter Martyr*, and other four
 ' or five which I shall chuse, will, by God's Grace,
 ' take upon us to defend, that not only our Common
 ' Prayers of the Churches, Ministration of the Sa-
 ' craments, and other Rites and Ceremonies, but
 ' also that all the Doctrine and Religion, by our
 ' said Sovereign Lord King *Edward VI.* is more
 ' pure, and according to God's word, than any that
 ' hath been used in *England* these thousand years : so
 ' that God's word may be the Judge, and that the
 ' reason and proofs may be set out in writing.*' Mr.
Phillips is called upon to produce his proofs of the
 Archbishop's spreading any other seditious libels, and
 of raising any tumults ; or he must take to himself
 the reproach of a false Accuser, and a prostituted
 Writer for faction : he indeed himself, it must be sup-
 posed, is sensible that he is so, and silently to con-
 fess it, by leaving out of his motto to the second
 Part, *ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo, ne qua si-*
multatis, a profession not to write from prejudices of
 party ; but he professes not to write by such hea-
 thenish rules of impartiality, as *Tully* recommends.

Thus we see the Queen's favorites in this reign,
 were, at least, as guilty as *Cranmer* : *Gardiner* was
 more forward in soliciting the Divorce, and concur-
 red with him in giving the sentence : the Earls of
Arundel and *Shrewsbury*, and Secretary *Petre* had less
 courage and resolution to maintain her Title against
 the Duke of *Northumberland*, than the honest Arch-
 bishop : They equally with him signed the decla-
 ration :

* *Strype's Mem.* p. 306.

ration ; he equally with them signed the notification for all to return to their Duty to Queen *Mary*. And what is called a seditious libel was only the just vindication of himself against the malicious reports of his Enemies, the Biographer's Friends. But they were not only pardoned, but rewarded ; and he was attainted of High Treason. This was on the 13th of *Nov.* Bishop *Burnet*, by mistake, says the 3d. whom Mr. *Phillips* follows, excusably enough, had he not set up for uncommon accuracy. ' The personal injury, says the Biographer, which each of these offences included, was more than enough to stir up the resentment of a Woman and a Queen : and yet it is probable the execution of this sentence would not have taken place, had not *Mary* been more disposed to avenge the wrongs done to the Religion she professed, than the treason committed against herself.' The Council, who had been witnesses of his regard for *Mary*, in daring to oppose the Duke of *Northumberland*, which they themselves were afraid to do, pleaded for him to the Queen : and she, perhaps, remembering that his sole intercession had saved her from imprisonment, and even losing her head from the resentment of her Father^z, pardoned him for the Treason ; being determined to wreak her vengeance another way, and make him suffer a more cruel death, by burning him for heresie. Good and Gracious Queen ! but *the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel*. As to the effect of this Attainder, the Biographer tells us, that by it ' the See of *Canterbury* was become void in Law,

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' but

^y P. 146.^z Godwyn's Annals, p. 165. and Memorials, p. 467.

‘ but it was not yet declared vacated ; and *Cranmer*
 ‘ till he was degraded, was considered as Archbi-
 ‘ shop : the revenues only were sequestered, and the
 ‘ Criminal sent back to the Tower.^a’ He was at-
 tainted *Nov. 13.* and by the 10th of *Dec.* the Dean
 and Chapter of *Canterbury* declared the See vacated
 by the Attainder of *Thomas Cranmer*, the last Arch-
 bishop of the same^b ; and in virtue of this vacancy
 issued their Commissions of spiritual Jurisdiction,
 even for Consecration of Bishops. And he was con-
 demned by a Parliament called by the Queen as *Su-
 preme Head of the Church of England*, and the Pope’s
 Laws having yet no force in this Kingdom, the See
 of *Canterbury* was vacant, according to the Laws of
 the realm, by the Attainder of its Archbishop ; and
 so the Bishop of *London*^c, and the University of
Cambridge, as well as the Church of *Canterbury*,
 and the whole Kingdom in general, believed and
 acted accordingly. Yet this attainted Man, dead
 in the eye of the Law, was afterwards tried for he-
 resy, and, in their way, condemned again. And to
 make it as uncanonical, as illegal, the Metropolitan
 was tried, and sentenced by Commissioners, who
 were only Priests. And at last, when to cover their
 irregularities, they had introduced the Pope, and
 procured a sentence of deprivation from him, he was
 cited to appear at *Rome*, to make his defence before
 the Pope ; which when he was forcibly prevented
 from doing, being detained in prison, he was declared
 contumacious, *because he took no care to appear* ; and
 commanded to be delivered over to the secular Court,
 because

^a Ibid.
 Register.

^b Wilkins, iv. 94.

^c Bp. Boner’s

because ‘ all things had been indifferently examined
 ‘ on both Parties, and Counsel heard as well on
 ‘ the King’s and Queen’s behalf, as on the behalf
 ‘ of *Cranmer*, so that he wanted nothing to his ne-
 ‘ cessary defence^d: Whereas he was not suffered to
 have any Counsel or Advocate at all. This will
 sufficiently convince the Reader, that no mercy was
 shewn to *Cranmer* by this exasperated Queen, but
 that he was treated with the utmost severity and in-
 justice. This Decree of the Pope, Mr. *Phillips*
 dates, as usually, on the 19th of *Jan.* 1555-6, in-
 stead of the xix Kal. *Jan.* or *Dec.* 14, and twice
 aims at giving us the clause of requiring their Ma-
 jesties to procede as the Law directs, and is false in
 both quotations; here he writes, *id quod juris fe-*
cerit, *fieri mandetis*; and at p. 167, *id quod juris*
est: it should be, *id quod juris fuerit* in both.

If we attend him to his last stage, we shall see an
 instance of human infirmity in the Archbishop;
 and of inhuman treachery and cruelty in his ene-
 mies. They were desirous not to save him, but to
 seduce him into a recantation; to which base pur-
 pose *Pole* devoted his deceitful pen, and supplied the
 defects of his arguments by a counterfeit benevo-
 lence, colored over with a most solemn protestation,
 expressing himself in this remarkable manner; ‘ that
 ‘ his concern for him, and the desire of his welfare
 ‘ was such (he called God to witness) that were
 ‘ there any means of rescuing him from that terrible
 ‘ sentence of death, which, unless he returned to
 ‘ his duty and a right mind, hung over both body
 U 4 ‘ and

^d The Pope’s Letters in Strype’s Life of *Cranmer*, p.
 375.

‘ and soul, he would most willingly prefer it to all
 ‘ the honors and emoluments which can befall any
 ‘ one in this life.’^e This was after his degradation,
 when, as he himself observes, *all hope of his recovery*
was over^f. He therefore never suspected that the
 truth and sincerity of his protestation should ever be
 disproved : and to prevale on him to recant they en-
 tertained him at the Deanery of *Christ’s Church*, got
 him to bowls, and flattered and promised, telling
 him, ‘ the Noblemen bare him good will : that his
 ‘ return would be highly acceptable to the King and
 ‘ Queen ; that he should enjoy his former dignity in
 ‘ the Church ; or if it liked him better, he should
 ‘ lead a quiet life in more privacy : that it was but
 ‘ setting his name in two words in a piece of paper.
 ‘ They told him the Queen was resolved to have
 ‘ *Cranmer* a Catholick, or no *Cranmer* at all. That
 ‘ he was still lusty and strong, and might live many
 ‘ a year more, if he would not willingly cut off his
 ‘ own life by the terrible death of burning.’^g Doubt-
 less, he sinfully suffered himself to be too much influ-
 enced by such considerations ; and in order to punish
 this fault, and to convince us that our sufficiency is
 of God, and that we can do nothing without him,
 it pleased God to forsake him for a season, and leave
 him to his own natural Strength : he then gave a proof
 how weak the flesh is ; the natural Man weighed in
 the balance life, favor, and honor, against death,
 contempt, and tortures : it is certain, when nature
 only holds the balance, which scale will preponde-
 rate : under this dereliction he recanted ; and during
 the

^e P. 148.

^f Strype’s Life of Cranmer, App. 89.

^g Ibid. p. 383.

the continuance of it, subscribed a second recantation. Human weakness was not the only lesson which this event has taught us, but also a detestable instance of Popish Perfidy. They promised him life and honor as the reward of his retracting; he complied, and they burned him: The merciful Queen forgave him all injuries done to herself, but his heresy she could not pardon; he retracted his heresy, as she called it, and yet she burned him: the meek and gentle *Pole* called God to witness, that if he could by any means preserve *Cranmer* from temporal and eternal death, from which repentance only could deliver him, he would prefer it to all the wealth and honors in the world; yet, when he had repented so far that his Preacher, (though his whole harangue was an abusive insult on a Man who had been forgiven his Civil crimes, and had retracted his heresies) ventured to assure him he should that day be with *Christ* in Paradise, this solemn Protester proclaimed his insincerity and suffered the sentence to be executed. What, could not the Pope's Legate, the Queen's chief favorite and Minister, especially in Ecclesiastical concerns, have influence enough with the Queen, his Cousen, to save a Heretick, reclaimed, from the fire? Alas! no documents appear that he moved one step, or spoke one word in his favor: but we read that on the very next day after the burning of *Cranmer*, the Lord Cardinal *Pole* was consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

What must not I dread from Mr. *Phillips*'s resentment, when he dares attack Bishop *Burnet*, for that notwithstanding this solemn declaration, he, without the least grounds, or even pretending to allege any authority, is not ashamed to advance, that
 ‘ Cardinal

‘ Cardinal *Pole*’s impatience to get into the See of
 ‘ *Canterbury*, caused him to hasten *Cranmer*’s death;
 ‘ and that this, and his passive behaviour in the
 ‘ persecution carried on against Hereticks, were the
 ‘ only stains in his life.^h’ Mr. *Phillips* must take
 shame to himself for this false charge; for the Bishop
 does *not advance* it, but says, *it was thought* that he
 hastened the execution of *Cranmer*: and adds, *which*
is the only personal blemish I find laid on him. So that
 he only relates the opinion and report of the times.
 And that such was the opinion and report of the
 times then, appears from *Pole*’s immediate Successor’s
 History of the Antiquity of the *British Church*, and
 Lives of the Archbishops of *Canterbury*. Who
 charges *Pole* with a feigned and counterfeited Sancti-
 ty, thirsting for blood, and decreeing *Cranmer*’s
 death at a time when he was almost certain of his
 discharge.—And that, to the eternal infamy of the
 Cardinal, the Archbishop was burnt at *Pole*’s insti-
 gation*. The Biographer’s representing in defence
 of the Cardinal, that he had no temptation to hasten
Cranmer’s death, because that Prelate was already
 dead in Law, and the Cardinal in possession of the
 revenues

^h P. 148, Note.

* Sed neque Pontificorum immanitas, nec ficta et adum-
 brata Poli sanctitas, quæ integerrimi cujusquam sanguinem
 expetivit, hæc retractatione contenta esse poterat. Nam
 cum in vitæ spem pene certam venisset Cranmerus,
 præstò ei adfuit ex POLI Cardinalis decreto exitium. Vit.
 Th. Cranm. p. 511.

Illud autem ad æternam immanitatis pontificiæ me-
 moriam infamiamque contra Polum valebit; quod eo le-
 gato et accelerante integerrimus Archiepiscopus Cranmerus
 igne crematus est. Vit. Reg. Pol. p. 533.

revenues of the Archbishoprick, is weak and insufficient; for *Pole* who feared *Paul* IV. and that he might refuse him the Archbishoprick, and recal him to *Rome*, might hasten the vacancy, while his Interest with the King and Queen, and theirs with the Pope, were able to secure this point. Accordingly he made use of this Interest, to make it a condition with the Pope, that his Holiness should not oblige him to go to *Rome*, or be absent from a Post which required Residence.¹ Bishop *Burnet* seems not to have known the Cardinal's character so well, as, by Mr. *Phillips's* means, I have had an opportunity of knowing it, by attending to his springs of action, and watching the unfoldings of his mind in his writings and Correspondence. The Bishop therefore speaks much more favorably of him than I possibly can, from the evidence I have seen. Nothing has or will be said from malice, but only what appears from that strict enquiry into the whole conduct of his Life, into which this Biographer has led me.

But, although it pleased God to permit *Cranmer* to fall for a time, that the Papists might publish their own breach of faith as a monument of their disgrace for ever: yet *Cranmer* was again visited by the Grace of God, and enabled thereby to retract his recantation, with a greatness and resolution far beyond his natural powers. ‘Forasmuch, says he, as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished.’ And when the faggots were lighted round him, he thrust his right hand into the flame, and held it there a
good

good space, before the fire came to any other part of his body, crying out, *This hand hath offended*. A more painful penance, or more publick satisfaction, he could not make : infomuch that a Popish Spectator witnesseth, ‘ that could he approve the cause, ‘ his patience in the torment, and his courage in ‘ dying, were such, that he could worthily have ‘ commended the example and matched it with the ‘ fame of any Father in antient time.^k’

‘ However rigorous this proceeding may appear, ‘ says our Biographer, the Criminal, on whom the ‘ punishment was inflicted, would have objected to ‘ it with an ill grace.’ If this proceeding appears very *rigorous* in this Gentleman’s eye, I presume he cannot discern in it either any mercy in Queen *Mary*, any truth in *Pole*’s solemn protestation, or any sincerity in the promises given to *Cranmer*. And why might not *Cranmer* who experienced this rigorous proceeding, object to it with a good grace? why it seems, ‘ he had consented to *Lambert*’s and *Ann Askew*’s ‘ deaths, who had suffered under *Henry*, for those ‘ very opinions which himself held concerning the ‘ Eucharist.^l’ Was it to be wondered at, or does this Writer upbraid him for acting like a Roman Catholick, while he was a Roman Catholick? before his conversion, by conference with Dr. *Ridley*, he was a believer of Transubstantiation. He was not backward to confess with St. *Paul*, *when the blood of thy Martyr was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting to his death*^m. Yet surely the Protestants might glorify God in him, as the primitive Christians did in St. *Paul*, *that he who persecuted them in times past, afterward*

^k See Life of Cranmer, p. 389. ^l P. 152. ^m Acts xxii. 20.

ward preached the faith which once he destroyedⁿ. Yet may we not ask, how far was *Cranmer* indeed concerned in these Executions? *Lambert* was brought before him and other Bishops for denying Transubstantiation; and appealed from the Bishops to the King. Thus the matter was taken out of his hands, and he had no other share in it, but to take his turn in the disputation to defend opinions which he then held. And no Records (that I know of) tell us, that he was at all concerned in the affair of *Ann Askew*, which fell out at a time when the persecuting Papists were in power, and *Cranmer* under a cloud. The same reign wore a different aspect, as *Cranmer* or the Papists had the lead: Even *Lambert's* execution was owing to the subtle cruelty of *Gardiner*, by whose instigation *Henry* resolved to dispute with him publicly, after that unhappy man had appealed from the Bishops to the King. But, after his conversion in this point, ' he set the example in *Edward's* ' reign, of that very proceeding which was now ' retaliated upon himself: He sate on *Joan Bocher*, condemned her as an obstinate Heretick, and delivered ' her up to the secular power to be punished according to her deserts. He behaved in the same ' manner to *George Van Par*, a German Surgeon; ' and they were both burnt at the stake in *Smithfield*.^o' The Reformation was gradual, and not perfect at once; as this Writer is very well aware of, when he charges *Cranmer* with ' never ceasing ' to weary the Publick with schemes of further ' changes.^p' In *Henry's* time he had got rid of the unscriptural tyranny of the Pope's Supremacy in these

ⁿ Gal. i. 23, 24.^o P. 152.^p P. 155.

these Kingdoms ; yet still holding Transubstantiation : in *Edward's* reign he was enlightened in this point, but still continued under Papal darkness with respect to the punishment of Hereticks. Zeal against Heresy was no crime in *Cranmer*, nor will it be so in any the most rational or humane Protestant : the judgment in determining what is Heresy, and how the Hereticks are to be dealt with, are the points in dispute. In the first, *Cranmer* was very candid and moderate, as this Writer acknowledges, when he reproaches him for it ; ‘ inviting over foreign Sectaries, and however Antichristian their Tenets were, obtained for them Churches—every path being right to him, which led the Nation, of which he was Primate, astray.’¹ This distorted picture at least gives us so far a true idea of him, that he was not rash in determining heresy, but bore with great patience and brotherly love those who differed in opinion from him. And though Popish opinions were just as distant from his, as his were from Popish ones, yet he did not set the example of that very proceeding which he now experienced from them ; he burnt no Papist, though persecuted, opposed, and extremely ill used by them. But ‘ he condemned *Joan Bocher* and *George Van Par* ; and they were both burnt at the stake at *Smithfield*.’ In this point, *the manner of punishing Hereticks*, which the Apostolical Rule directs to be, by rejection after a repeated admonition, *Tit. iii. 10.* he still continued and I believe died, under the influence and prejudice of Popish error. In judging *what was heresy* he followed Apostolical discipline and Gospel doctrine, *holding fast the form of sound words*². This form of
sound

¹ Ibid. ² 2 Tim. i. 13.

found words, *Athanasius** and St. *Augustin* acquaint us, was that short compendium, which *Christ* gave in charge to instruct all his disciples, *Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*†. Accordingly the definition of Heresy in the *Theodosian Code*, was, the denying of this essential fundamental doctrine†. *Joan Bocher* and *Van Par* came within this primitive, universally acknowledged description of heresy; holding contrary to what *Leo I.* in an Epistle to *Theodosius*, says, was the belief of the Martyrs, *the confession of the true divinity, and of the true humanity in Christ*‡. *Van Par* denied the former, and *Joan Bocher* the latter. So that *Cranmer's* judgment, in determining their opinions to be heresy, stands approved by the general consent of the Church from the most primitive times. As to the punishment by *burning*, it was not agreeable to the spirit of the Gospel: the calling for fire to consume those who will not receive

* Matth. xxviii. 19.

* Aug. Sermone in Symbolum et Athanasius in Epistolâ ad ubique orthodoxos. Summa et corpus totius nostræ fidei continetur in verbis Baptismi, et fundatur in illâ Scripturâ. Ite et baptizate omnes nationes in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti.

† Secundum Apostolicam disciplinam, Evangelicamque doctrinam Patris et Filii, et Spiritûs sancti unam deitatem sub parili majestate et sub piâ Trinitate credamus, hanc legem sequentes, Christianorum Catholicorum nomen jubemus amplecti, reliquos verò dementes vesanosque judicantes hæretici dogmatis infamiam sustinere. Cod. Theod. lib. 16. de fide Catholica. leg. 2: A. D. 380.

‡ —Quibus alia non fuit causa patiendi, nisi confessio veræ divinitatis, et veræ humanitatis in Christo.

ceive *Christ*, proceeds from a mistaken spirit^t. But he learned this mistake in the school of Popery, which was one of the errors he had not yet been taught to correct: and though this Writer, to load *Cranmer*, blames him in the affair of *the Maid of Kent*, as if she was more a Bedlamite than a Heretic, yet I find not that she was so accounted, and a Popish Writer who lived at that time, and therefore knew her better than Mr. *Phillips* could, affirms that she was worthily burned in *Smithfield**. As for the *Arian* some aggravating circumstances may reasonably be supposed to have contributed to his condemnation, for he was not the only *Arian* then in *England*, as appears by a Letter from *Martin Micronius* to *Bullenger*, complaining of the trouble which the Protestants here had, not only with the Papists, but with Sectaries, licentious rioters, pretended Gospellers, and a new set of *Arians*^u. Many foreigners flying hither from persecution in *Germany* were received and encouraged by the Archbishop, though they did not agree with us in all points of discipline; but among them mixt also Enthusiasts and licentious Men who would submit to no discipline; and in the cargo were imported personated Anabaptists sent over on purpose to disturb the state in their designs of further reformation and union among all Protestants, who were consigned to the
care

^t Luke ix. 55.
editas.

^u Inter Epist. tigurinas nondum

* Miles Huggard. The displaying of the Protestants, fol. 19.

care of *Gardiner*† and others to support and assist them. This made it necessary to shew some severity; and *Cranmer*'s conscience, not yet sufficiently informed (for I find him meditating still further improvements so late as 1552, by a Letter from *Calvin*) thought it lawful in cases of undoubted heresy to execute the laws in being against them.—But ‘ the young King scrupled to sign the warrant till the Archbishop perswaded him.’—Certainly the Archbishop, who had been laboring to convert her for a whole year, must be allowed a sufficient judge of her blameable obstinacy and guilt, and whether she deserved a mitigation of the laws in indulgence to her, supposing those laws just, which his, yet unreformed, prejudices imagined they were. It is also observed by the Biographer, ‘ that these proceedings were carried on three years after the Statutes against Hereticks were repealed.*’ The repealed Statutes were 5 *Rich. II.* cap. 1. the 2d *Henry IV.* cap. 15. and the 2d *Henry V.* cap. 7. but the repealing these Statutes did not repeal the Canon Law and Common Law of *England*, which before those reigns punished Hereticks by burning. So suffered an Apostate Deacon in 1222, under *Stephen Langton*, according to *Bracton*; and in 1347 *Polydore Virgil*† tells us, two *Franciscans* were burnt, *quod de religione male sentierent*, for their religious sentiments. Such being the Law, so certain the guilt, so great the provocations,

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and

† P. 153.

* Ibid.

† Hist. Ang. lib. 19.

† The Letter, recommending them to *Gardiner* and another Bishop, was found in *Queen Elisabeth's* Closet, among some Papers of *Queen Mary*. See *Strype's Memorials*, p. 208.

and such the uncorrected judgment of *Cranmer*, Protestants, who consider that these two are all the examples of Hereticks suffering death in this reign, will, I am perswaded, more admire the lenity than the severity of the Archbishop: and Papists must awkwardly object, as a flaw in his character, the only remnant of Popery that was left in him.

As to the sentence being ‘ pronounced with all the pomp in which severity and ostentation can dress it up.’^z The man must have a great disposition to trifling that can laugh at the usual decent solemnity, which so serious an affair called for: a soul in danger, and a life condemned to end in torture, were not laughing matters in *Cranmer*’s judgment, whatever they may be in this Writer’s opinion, or might have been in that of Bishop *Boner*, who thought the degrading of this venerable Prelate in order to burn him was a fit occasion to shew his wit, such as it was; *This is the man that despised the Pope, and is now judged by him: this is the man that pulled down Churches, and is now judged in a Church; this is the man that contemned the Sacrament, and is now condemned before it*^a.

And though Mr. *Phillips* has brought the Archbishop to the stake, his malice against him is not yet sated; for being a principal Author of the Reformation, our Biographer’s Design to blacken that, under color of writing *the Life of Reginald Pole*, made it necessary for him to step back about thirty years, and write the Life of *Thomas Cranmer* also; in which he casts all his virtues into shade, and makes

^z Ibid.

^a Burnet, vol. ii. p. 333.

makes what he judges the most exceptionable parts stand out.

The first is his entrance on the Episcopal Character, at his consecration; ‘ The oath of obedience to the See of *Rome*, says Mr. *Phillips*, is a rite observed on that occasion, and *Cranmer* retired into a private place, and entered a Protest against the oath he was going to take, and then took it.^b’ When the See of *Canterbury* became vacant, *Cranmer* was in *Germany*, employed there by the King; *Henry* sent for him to accept the Archbishoprick; *Cranmer*, aware of this imposed Oath to the Pope, was desirous to avoid the snare, and pretended to foresee exigencies, which would require his stay abroad, for his Majesty’s service. But the King sent his commands to return and take this office upon him. Duty brought him over; but still he begged he might decline the Honor intended him: when the King still prest, *Cranmer* planely told him, he could not take the oath to the Pope, which was contrary to his allegiance to the King. He was then advised to take it with protestation, that he meant not by that oath any obedience to the Pope, inconsistent with the laws of God, his allegiance to the King, or the laws and privileges of the realm. This was done, not in a private place, but in the Chapter House of St. *Stephen’s* Chapel, before several Doctors of Law and a Notary Publick, and again repeted in publick at his Consecration^c. Why is the noble forbearance of *Cranmer* concealed, who declined the first Honors in the Church rather than take an oath which the Laws of God forbade him to

X 2

keep?

keep? Why was the difficulty of his case, from the peremptory Will of *Henry VIII.* suppressed? Why is his Protestation in publick, before many witnesses*, falsely represented as done by retiring into a private place? Why were these circumstances omitted? and what in similar circumstances is the judgment of Popish Casuists? According to the Casuistry of Bishop *Gardiner*, the Protest was not necessary; for he had taken the same oath to the Pope, and then refused the Supremacy maintained in it, saying in his defence, ‘that an Engagement against right is by no means binding.^d’ And *Suarez*, on the very subject of an oath of obedience, evacuates that of allegiance made by a Papist to King *James I.* on these principles; that such oaths always imply, either a tacit condition that the obedience may be paid without evident detriment or danger to the person who takes it, or the reserve of a Superior’s right, notwithstanding such promise made by a subject, to prohibit the performance of it†. Apply this to *Cranmer’s* case; the King had a right unquestionably from Scripture, to the obedience of his subjects, the Pope’s assumed authority over the same subject, requiring

^d De Obedientia.

* Coram vobis authenticâ personâ et testibus fide dignis, hic presentibus, Ego *Thomas* in *Cant.* Archiepiscopum electus dico, allego, et in his scriptis palam, publicè et expressè protestor.—Ex *Cranmeri* Registro. vid. *Memorials of Arch. Cranmer*, App. numb. v.

† In similibus juramentis semper includitur vel conditio tacita, si promissio impleri possit sine notabili damno et periculo jurantis---vel intelligitur reservatum jus superioris, qui non obstante promissione à subdito factâ potest illi prohibere, ne illam impleat. *Libro vi. de juramento fidelitatis*, cap. ii. ¶. 7. p. 409.

quiring an obedience inconsistent with his allegiance to an acknowledged Superior, was consequently void by the implied conditions of the oath itself. Again *Suarez* teaches, that supposing the Pope can depose King *James*, it follows, that the oath, and allegiance engaged by that oath, were discharged by such deposing; for the oath was given, not to *James* in his own person, but to *James*, as King; *James* therefore being no longer King, the oath taken to obey him is null of course*. By which rule, *Cranmer's* oath given to *Clem. VII.* as Superior to the King in *England*, had no obligation, *Clem. VII.* having ceased to be Superior to the King in *England* at the very time of taking it: it was a ceremony *pro formâ*, and as such the Archbishop looked upon it: a Papist therefore has no right to censure him, even if he had taken the oath without a Protest; but he thought it more honest, before he took the oath imposed, to declare in what sense he took it. Nay, had *Cranmer* made this protest ever so secretly, without any publick record, or without witnesses, even by a mental reservation, it had been only according to the easy methods invented by this Gentleman's good friends and favorites the *Jesuits*, to avoid telling lies in the intrigues of the World; for by the doctrine of *Sanchez* and *Filliucius*, it is the intention that constitutes the quality of the action. And *Es-*

X 3

cobar

* Si Papa potest deponere Regem consequenter necesse est, ut auferre possit vinculum obedientiæ et juramenti quia non promittitur obedientia Jacobo, ut Jacobus est, sed ut Rex; unde si desinat esse Rex, eo ipso non debetur ei obedientia, ac subinde nec juramentum obligat, nam sublatâ materiâ juramenti, consequenter juramenti obligationem auferri necesse est. Ibid.

coar gives this general rule, *Promises do not bind a man that has no intention to be bound by them*^e. These are the Casuists whom the Canon of *Tongres* recommends to his Student in Divinity, ‘to conquer the
 ‘reluctancy of corrupt Nature, to advance daily
 ‘in virtue, to purify his intentions, and perfect his
 ‘actions, to refine and ennoble his mind with every
 ‘Christian Disposition.’^f He that can recommend and praise such Casuists ought not to censure *Cranmer* for the open explanation of his oath.

Our Biographer proceeds ; ‘after his return from
 ‘Germany, he continued during the remaining part
 ‘of that Prince’s reign, which was thirteen years,
 ‘in a constant dissimulation of his religion, and a
 ‘daily profession and practice of what he disbelieved.^g’ A heavy charge against an Elder ! but how is it supported ? Why, ‘in consequence of this abandoned turn of mind, he subscribed to the six
 ‘famous Articles, which contain so many points in
 ‘which the Reformers disagree with the antient
 ‘Doctrine, though he disbelieved them all.’ Still without evidence ; and what is worse against evidence, as Mr. *Phillips* could not easily avoid knowing : for *Cranmer* disputed three days earnestly against the unreasonableness of that Act, and, instead of subscribing, staid and protested against it, although the King (determined to pass the Act) desired him to go out, since he could not consent^h. Which not only disproves this false Accuser of the Brethren, in this point, but at the same time wipes off another calumny against the Archbishop cast forth just before,
 by

^e Pasch. Letter ix.
 p. 89. ^g P. 154.

^f Study of Sacred Literature,
^h Life of Cranmer, p. 73.

by our Biographer, saying, ‘ there was no abject
 ‘ compliance, to which he did not let himself down,
 ‘ to flatter the Passions of *Henry VIII.* and secure his
 ‘ own credit.ⁱ’ He is not ashamed to repete the for-
 mer falshood, nor to aggravate it with a circumstance
 as false as the charge itself: ‘ He subscribed to the
 ‘ six Articles, says he, by which the Mass, the ca-
 ‘ pital object of the Reformation’s aversion, is ap-
 ‘ proved.^k’ Now, he not only did not subscribe the
 six Articles, but his Reformation at that time had no
 aversion to the Mass; for he was not drawn from
 that error till seven years after. All the submission he
 paid to the Act after it was passed into a Law, was,
 not to preach, or obstinately maintain in publick,
 or act contrary to it. After thus taking much iniqui-
 tous pains to deform him, Mr. *Phillips* tells us, *his*
Conscience, Leopard like, was spotted all over: Cran-
mer doubtless had his faults, as well as the Leopard
 his spots; but let us not mistake for such, the cruel
 wounds of his Hunters. The Gentleman has o-
 pened to us the source of all his Malice, *he was the*
principal Author of the Reformation. The effects of
 this Malice appear in the several instances of it, which
 follow from page 155 to page 157; they are proposed as
 charges against *Cranmer*, they will turn out proofs
 against *Phillips*. He preludes to the charge, by re-
 presenting *Osiander*, whose Niece *Cranmer* married,
as one of the most profane and dissolute wretches of the
age, on the authority of *Calvin* and *Melancthon*. He
 cares not to tell us where; *Moreri*, *Mosheim*, and
 the *Diètionaire portatif* of *M. L’Advocat*, a Doctor
 of the *Sorbonne*, call him a violent man, but other-

X 4

wife

ⁱ P. 154.^k P. 157.

wife blame not his moral character ; *Melchior Adams* indeed, in his *Life of Osiander*, says of him (from *Melancthon*) that he was of a strong constitution, and able to drink a great deal ; and that *Calvin* accused him to *Melancthon*, of an irreverent application of Scripture in praise of good wine : this, though bad, does not make him *one of the most profane and dissolute wretches of the age* : and even had *Osiander* deserved such a character, being acquainted with a bad man and marrying his Niece are no crimes, that I know of. His more direct charge against *Cranmer* is as follows ; *He threw off the Mask*—There is no proof given by Mr. *Phillips* that *Cranmer* ever wore one—*declared for the Calvinistical opinions, As they removed him further from the Catholick Church*—He did not declare for Calvinistical opinions in general, if for any ; and never *because* they removed him further from Catholick Belief—*scarce one Article which he did not oppugn*—He oppugned no one Article of the Apostle's Creed. *Wrote a Treatise against ALL Traditions*—He wrote a Confutation of unwritten Verities, as the Papiſts called their idle Traditions, proving that neither the writings of the old Fathers, or General Councils, without the Word of God, were sufficient to make Articles of Faith ; much less Popish Apparitions, Miracles, Customs, juglings and impostures : but he collected with great care the opinions of the Fathers, and paid great regard to them.—*He never ceased to urge the young Prince to further changes, and to weary the Publick with schemes on that subject*—Offering proposals for a further Reformation, is very different from never ceasing to urge the King and weary the Publick ; but one, who hates all Reformation, will be soon weary of every scheme
for

for it.—Every path being right to him which led the nation astray—Then he would not have condemned the two Hereticks in *Edward's* reign—He invited over foreign Sectaries, and however Antichristian their tenets were obtained for them Churches—To those who substitute the Pope in the place of *Christ*, opposition to that Roman Idol will be apt to appear Antichristian; but it does not appear that *Cranmer* invited over any persons whom he knew or believed to hold erroneous opinions, if *Christ's* Law and not Papal Decrees were allowed to be the rule to judge by. *Bucer*, *Fagius*, and *Martyr* had, in the main, the same opinions with himself. *P. Ochin* was respected long after he left *England*, and did not write in favor of Polygamy till several years after *Cranmer's* death; as should seem from *Bayle*, who mentions the offence taken at it, in the year 1563, and never gave the least proof of being an Atheist. And even, if he was a Socinian, it is no more reproach surely to *Cranmer* to have entertained *Ochin*, who was some years afterwards suspected of Socinianism, than it was to Cardinal *Pole*, that he entertained *Dudithius* in his service who doubtless was one. *A Lasco* had no English preferment, but was Minister of a Dutch Church in *London*, which it was no crime to tolerate, unless Mr. *Phillips* thinks only one Communion ought to be tolerated, and then his own ought not. *A Lasco* left *England* on the death of *Edward VI.* and lived seven years after: and if he fell into such notions as Mr. *Phillips* mentions (for which he produces no proof) it might be after *Cranmer's* death, or *Cranmer* might know nothing of them.

These facts charged against *Cranmer*, and the others that follow, the Biographer boldly tells us
Dr.

Dr. Burnet grants¹; but he is not kind enough to tell us where: till he does, I shall venture to set this down as a falshood, of which himself is conscious. He then proceeds to give a sketch of *Cranmer's* Conscience; and sets out with this definition of Conscience, that it is ‘*a faculty which was given to discern good from evil*: this may suit the *Quakers inward light*, but does not agree with his own Schoolmen, who describe it as a knowledge of Law, joined with a knowledge of fact, and from that joint knowledge discerning whether an action be good or evil. The judgment therefore, which Conscience makes, must be right or wrong in proportion to our knowledge of the Law and our knowledge of the fact. Now if *Cranmer*, knew that *every soul was to be subject to the higher*, meaning the secular, *Power*, and that he had endeavoured to submit the Clergy to the King, his Conscience must allow or approve the action: But if Mr. *Phillips* substitutes Papal Decrees instead of *Christ's* Law, and mistakes a submitting the *persons and possessions* of the Clergy to their Prince, for an acknowledgment that he is the sole source of all spiritual jurisdiction, his Conscience in condemning *Cranmer* must be *erroneous*, from an ignorance both of Law and Fact. If he knows the Divine Law, and the Fact to be as I state it, and yet condemns the Archbishop, he acts *against Conscience*.—He condemns him for holding that *it was by the King's Sufferance that the Primate could judge and determine a meer spiritual cause*: The offence, against the Laws of God, of living in incestuous marriage, and the Archbishop's office to determine and judge mere spiritual causes within his District according

according to ancient Canons, convinced *Cranmer* that it was his Duty to determine the King's Cause ; but when the King was a party, he knew the Archbishop's judgment could have no effect without the Royal Sufferance ; he therefore asked his permission, and the King, *obediently submitting to the observance of God's Laws, but saving his Preheminence over the Archbishop as his Subject*, granted the request. The Pope pretended to judge in the same cause, contrary to the Canon (being out of his Diocese) and without the King's sufferance : but his sentence was without effect. On *Edward's Accession*, he acknowledged he held his Archbishoprick revocable at the King's pleasure : It is possible that *Cranmer* might blameably comply too far with those who contrived this bridle to check the Popish Bishops ; who it was apprehended, nor was that apprehension unjust, would behave so seditiously as to deserve to be thrust from the High Priesthood, like *Abiathar*, and be sent to their own fields. And for that reason we find their ordinary jurisdiction was restrained, they not being such as the King could trust : Yet, in that reign, the Commissions to new Bishops, which at first were *durante bene placito*, were changed into Commissions *durante vitâ*.—He and the other Bishops took out special licences to exercise their Episcopal functions.—They nowhere pretend to derive those functions from the King, but the liberty of exercising them in such districts of his dominions. The King might, as *Edward I.* did, lock up their barn doors and put their persons out of his Protection ; the question then would be, whether it is more expedient for the advancement of Christian Religion to submit the exercise of their spiritual functions to the King's licence or not ? if the King's condition

ditions are contrary to God's Laws or *Christ's* Institutions, the Clergy ought to refuse them, and at all hazards exercise their functions, *woe unto them if they preach not the Gospel*. But if the conditions are such as may be complied with, without violating the Gospel discipline, prudence will advise a compliance for the furtherance of the Gospel. This was not only the Doctrine of *Cranmer*, but of Pope *Pius IV.* who, for the Salvation of the Nation, promised Queen *Elisabeth* ' to disannul the sentence against her Mother's marriage as unjust, confirm the English Liturgy by his authority, and grant the use of the Sacraments to the English under both kinds, on condition, that she would join herself to the Romish Church, and acknowledge the Primacy of the Chair of *Rome*.^m—He suffered *Cromwell*, though a Layman to preside at all the Convocations of the Clergy. When the King was convinced that the Popish Clergy, to whose care the Morals of his people had been formerly committed, were grown so negligent, and so immoral themselves, that *Christ* it was feared could not know the Church to be his Spouse, he thought it the Duty of a King to see to the Reformation of his Kingdom; and as he could not be present every where, he deputed a person to execute his office in this case (which certainly was a Lay-Office) and this person was his Secretary *Cromwell*; who might, in the King's Right, call Synods and Convocations, and preside in them (as the Emperour or his Delegate might with regard to General Councils) for this end, *pro reformatione vel emendatione Personarum, Locorum, et Ordinum prædictorum*ⁿ.

Latitude

^m Camden's Hist. of Q. Elisabeth, p. 48. and Sir Roger Twisden's Vindication, p. 176. ⁿ Cromwell's Commission in Collier's Records, numb. xxx.

—*Latitude of principle permitted him to dissolve two of the King's marriages, on pretexts notoriously false.*—In the case of *Queen Catherine*, the marriage was *confessedly* against the Canons ; *Julius's* dispensation suspected of forgery ; and the power of dispensing in the case judged invalid and ineffectual by most of the Learned in *Europe* : in the case of *Ann Bolen*, however false the pretext was, of a prior contract, it was at least what she thought proper to confess.—*To sign the death of the Duke of Somerset's Brother, without bringing him to trial.*—Conviction by Attainder without open trial face to face, was too common at that time, and I believe has no Defenders now, except in *Mr. Phillips* ; who speaks of the punishment of *Cromwell*, without any legal trial, and unheard, with great satisfaction, and seems to enjoy it like a cordial drop°. But *Cranmer* was by no means *particularly* guilty, in this or any other instance of that kind. Thirty three Articles were brought against the Admiral, they were manifestly proved, says the Council Book, not only by witnesses, but by Letters under his own hand ; all the Judges and the King's Council delivered their Opinions, that the Articles were Treason ; his devising to get the government and possession of the King's person, and supplying him privately with money, were confessed by him ; the Lords on hearing the evidence against him, *unanimously* consented to his Attainder ; and the Commons, who pressed for a trial, on hearing the evidence renewed, agreed to the Bill, with only twelve dissentient in a House of about four hundred Members. What is there in all this particularly

° Phillips, part 1, p. 289, 290.

particularly to *Cranmer's* dishonor? *He signed the death of the Admiral*: As a Privy Counsellor after the Lords and Commons had attainted him, I know not how he could avoid it. The Biographer's Friends *Shrewsbury, Southampton, and Petre* did the same.—It permitted him, though a Priest, and consequently obliged to celibacy by the most solemn ties, to take a wife—and to exact even from Deacons, a solemn engagement, to a single life, to which, though an Archbishop, he did not think himself obliged.—Neither he, nor the Deacons mentioned, were *Regulars*; therefore no oath was required of him, or them, to single life. It might be recommended to them, in obedience to human Laws, but not as enjoined by the Gospel Law: Mr. *Phillips* indeed seems desirous to make an Apostolical Law to this purpose, by falsifying *St. Paul*, saying, Bishops were requested to live, as that Apostle expresses himself, *soberly, CHASTLY, and piously*; now the Apostle speaks there not of the Clergy only, but of all men, *Tit. ii. 11.* therefore *CHASTLY*, had it been in the Text, must have meant, as well in marriage as out of it; but it happens the word is not there, it is *δικαιώς*, which we have justly translated *righteously*. What a malicious perverter, instead of an Interpreter, of Scripture have we here? —*To pray to Saints, and to pay a respect to their representations, though all these practices were abjured by the late Doctrines with which he had taken up.*—Every suspicion of an Error, before it is sifted and examined by a Council of Divines, is not to influence publick practice; *Cranmer's* Reformation was gradual; but I challenge this Defamer to produce any proof of *Cranmer's* worshipping Images after he had abjured
the

the practice. His other objections have been answered already.

And now we may ask where is this Writer's 'Con-
'sciousness, of having sacrificed much of his own
'way of thinking out of respect to his English
'Readers, by suppressing not only many things
'which might be liable to raise displeasure; but
'many where his claim to approbation, or, at least,
'to indulgence, appeared very justifiable.*' But his
Panegyrick on his own candor, is as false as his libel
upon *Cranmer*; both calculated to promote his de-
sign, to recommend Popery, and discredit the Re-
formation; but equally foreign to the elucidation of
Pole's character. And I may trust to the equity of
the Popish Reader to judge of the conduct of Pro-
testant Writers and Mr. *Phillips*, with respect to
Cranmer's character; Bishop *Burnet* commends his
excellent qualities, but admits a mixture of fear and
human infirmities; Mr. *Phillips* not only aggra-
vates those infirmities, but falsely charges him with
what he was not guilty, and admits of *no good* qua-
lities, but is so angry with Bishop *Burnet* for think-
ing well of him (though thinking too well of ano-
ther is surely the more pardonable extreme) that he
first misquotes the Bishop, and makes him say, that
'those who compared ancient and modern times
'put *Cranmer* on a level with the greatest of the pri-
'mitive Fathers:' whereas he only says, *compared*
him to them; which they might do, though he were
considerably inferior. Then he doubts 'whether
'there really were any such persons;' and 'de-
'clares

* Pref. p. vii.

declares it to be the highest insult on the sense and mo-
 rals of his Readers to suppose them susceptible of
 so gross an imposition : and not content with this,
 concludes in the following words ; ‘ as for the Bi-
 shop himself, he must have drank to the dregs of
 that intoxicating cup, with which the lying Pro-
 phets are drenched to give out such absurdities, and
 expect they should be credited.’ Now Liars are
 some of the worse of men, lying Prophets the worst
 of Liars, and such of them, as have drank to the
 dregs of their intoxicating cup, must be the worst
 of lying Prophets. Yet this is the character, which
 he has had the conscience and the modesty to give
 Bishop *Burnet*, without convicting him of a single
 known falsehood, and after being forced to own several
 times his very candid regard to truth. Which
 then of the two has drank *deepest* of the intoxicating
 cup, let every one judge. He confesses, however,
 in the same page, that our Writers who agree in the
 Facts he hath related (which they do not) have yet
 bestowed every commendation on *Cranmer*. And he
 instances in high praises given him by Mr. *Hume*,
 who is not commonly thought in the World to be a
 man either deprived of his reason, or bigotted to the
 Reformation. But to his, and the like Eulogies, he
 opposes ‘ *the sounder few, who have had too just a regard*
 ‘ *to that decency which every one owes to himself, to fall*
 ‘ *into such extravagancies.*’ And here he singles out
 the celebrated Mr. *Prynne*, as he calls him, who, he
 says, in a Book, intitled, *the Antipathy of Prelacy*
and Monarchy, accuses *Cranmer* in nine Articles, of
 perjury and cruelty, of all the calamities of *Henry*
 VIIIth’s

VIIIth's reign, and of subverting the Church ; and represents him as an hypocrite, an apostate, and rebel.^r Now the truth is, that in this book, which I charitably presume Mr. *Phillips*, though he quotes it so boldly, never saw, *Prynne*, though a virulent railer at Bishops in general, does not accuse *Cranmer* so heavily. After saying, that he was charged by *Martyn*, a Papist, with perjury, for swearing to the Pope's Supremacy, and that he answered the charge ; and that he repented of the recantation which he had made out of fear and human frailty, he goes on thus ; ‘ And here, not to detract any thing from
‘ the due praise of our Glorious Martyr, give me
‘ leave only to observe, 1. That he had a hand in
‘ the condemnation and execution of some godly Mar-
‘ tyrs, before he was thoroughly instructed in the
‘ points of our Religion : 2. That he was the chief
‘ man in accomplishing the Divorce of *Henry VIII.*
‘ which occasioned much trouble, dissension, and
‘ war ? and was a furtherer of the King's subsequent
‘ lustful, if lawful, marriages : 3. That the *Lin-*
‘ *colnshire* Rebels complain to *Henry VIIIth* against
‘ him and other Prelates, that they have subverted
‘ the Faith of *Christ* : 4. That the Bishops of that
‘ age labored underhand to support the Pope's Su-
‘ premacy : 5. That the bloody Statute, called the
‘ six Articles, was made in his time ; and that some
‘ seem to imply that he gave consent thereto : 6.
‘ That he is the only Martyr of all the Archbishops
‘ of *Canterbury*, none dying in defence of the Gos-
‘ pel but he ; whence *Parker*, his Successor, writes
‘ thus, *Cranmerus fide integrâ, non pontificiâ cen-*
‘ *surâ,*

‘ surâ, in libro vitæ scriptus cælestem hæreditatem
 ‘ cum christo consecutus est. Ut, si in hominibus
 ‘ gloriari fas esset, non ab *Augustino, Dunstano, El-*
 ‘ *phego, Anselmo, Thomâ Becket, Edmundo*, et reli-
 ‘ quâ pontificiâ turbâ, sed ab hoc uno, qui solus in
 ‘ Christi causa, contra Antichristum flammæ in-
 ‘ credibili dolore ad cælos sublatus est, Cantuarien-
 ‘ sis sedes nobilitata esse videatur : 7. That he suf-
 ‘ fered Martyrdom after his degradation, not whilst
 ‘ he was a Bishop : 8. That he failed more in his
 ‘ Martyrdom by his cowardly recantation, than any
 ‘ of his fellow Martyrs : 9. That whilst he was
 ‘ Archbishop he was condemned for High Treason,
 ‘ for which he professed his repentance ; and was a
 ‘ very importunate Suitor to King *Edward* to tole-
 ‘ rate the use of the Mass in his Sister *Mary’s* Fa-
 ‘ mily.’ These Mr. *Phillips* accounts nine Articles,
 which *Prynne* lays to the charge of *Cranmer*, and says,
 ‘ Dr. *Fuller* is at a loss how to reply to any of them,
 ‘ and gives up most of them ; saying, he will leave
 ‘ him, where he is guilty, to sink or swim by him-
 ‘ self.’ Now the 3d, 4th, 5th and 7th make no-
 thing against him : The 6th was intended in his
 praise ; and Mr. *Phillips* must think him praise-wor-
 thy for the latter part of the 9th likewise ; for the
 1st charge, which *Fuller* calls the 2d, he attempts to
 make no other excuse than that *in many things we all*
offend : to the 2d he answers justly, that the Divorce
 produced much Good, as well as Evil, and is de-
 fended by Protestant Writers : The 8th and first
 part of the 9th, he alleviates in the usual manner.
 Mr. *Prynne*, whom this Popish Priest extols as one
 of the *founder Few*, was a professed enemy to Epis-
 copacy ;

copacy ; and in his rage against the Order, foreseeing he should be urged with the amiable character of *Cranmer*, he gathers what he can against him, levelling at the Order rather than at the Person ; therefore his sixth Article finds a place, though it be highly to the honor of *Cranmer* : his argument standing thus, Bishops in general have been bad men.—It is replied, *Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, died for his Religion,—It is true, *Cranmer* did ; but he was the only Archbishop of *Canterbury* that did so. And now I give Mr. *Phillips* joy of the evidence of the celebrated Mr. *Prynne*, and of his own honest representation of Dr. *Fuller's* defence of *Cranmer*. I would observe further, that the same sound Mr. *Prynne*, in the same Book, calls *Pole* a notorious Traytor ; and sets forth his ingratitude and perfidiousness at large, chiefly in the words of *Tonstal* and *Stokesly*, Popish Bishops of *Durham* and *London*, and the Cardinal's cotemporaries. And if *Prynne* any where in that Book may be inferred to have represented *Cranmer* as a Hypocrite, an Apostate, and Rebel, he calls him in another book (his *Antiarminianism*) that worthy Archbishop *Cranmer*, p. 128. Our religious Martyr Archbishop *Cranmer*, p. 55. and says, ‘ the Reformation was watered with
 ‘ the fruitful showers of our blessed Martyr's blood,
 ‘ in the fire and faggot regimen of Queen *Mary*,
 ‘ through the malice and cruelty of blood-
 ‘ sucking, soul-starving, non-preaching Prelates.’
 p. 52. So that in the judgment of this one of the sounder few, who is just to the decency every one owes himself, *Cranmer* was a worthy, religious, blessed Hypocrite, Apostate, and Rebel. And when *Prynne's* judgment was soundest, not distracted by contradic-

tions, he charges the Papists with malice and cruelty, and the Discipline of Queen *Mary's* Church with having been a fire and faggot regimen; from which *Good Lord, deliver us!*

§. 28. *The burning of Protestants.*

This fire and faggot regimen, Mr. *Phillips*, though he sometimes appears to disapprove it, cannot find in his heart to condemn planely as inhuman and unchristian, and therefore, we may presume, has no objection to see re-established on a proper occasion; accordingly he takes great pains to lessen the number of those who underwent it, and to defend or excuse the practice of it upon them. As to the numbers, he tells us, *Fox* reckons 270 persons who underwent the like punishment; but that Father *Parsons*, who very accurately examined the account, has shewn that great abatements are to be made in it^t. *Fox*, who was much hated by the Papists for exposing their Lies and Cruelties, as is observed by Mr. *Lewis* in his *Life of Wickliff*^u, has too much merit to escape the persecuting lash of our Biographer. His faithfulness in quoting the Records that he searched, Mr. *Phillips* himself denies not; and as to private stories, ‘ he and his friends used the utmost diligence and care that no falsehood might be obtruded on the Reader, and were very ready to correct any mistake that might happen.’^w His experienced fidelity in the first case gives us fair grounds to presume he intended to be so in the other: the first could not be denied, without being confuted

^t P. 159. ^u Pref. xiv. ^w *Strype's Hist. of the Reform.* p. 242.

confuted by the Records; but in the latter case, charges against him may be advanced with less fear of a detection. As to the number of those who suffered, *Parsons*, whose credit *Phillips* and *Quirini* have invalidated^x, ascertains it not, though he says it was less than *Fox* reports: but Mr. *Strype* as accurate and more faithful than *Parsons*, who collects the total from the particular numbers of each year in which they suffered, and at the places of their Martyrdom, increases the whole to 288, besides those that died of famine in sundry prisons.^y ‘ A great
 ‘ number of these unhappy persons, says *Phillips*,
 ‘ suffered in the Diocese of *London*, of which *Boner*
 ‘ was Bishop, who is represented as the chief In-
 ‘ cendiary of that flame; and *London* being the
 ‘ capital, was likewise the theatre, where the De-
 ‘ linquents were chiefly to make their appearance.
 ‘ Great moderation, says he, was used in other
 ‘ parts of the Kingdom: not one was put to death
 ‘ in the Diocese of *Canterbury* after Cardinal *Pole*
 ‘ was promoted to that See.^z’ If most suffered in
 the Diocese of *London*, because, being the Capital,
 most Delinquents were found in it, the moderation
 he speaks of in other parts, was probably because
 there were but few Delinquents; the severity bearing
 proportion to the objects: and as to the Diocese of
Canterbury, though the capital was not in it, and
 it contained but half a County, whereas *London*, be-
 side the Capital, comprehends two whole Counties
 and great part of a third, the number of Sufferers
 in *Pole’s* district exceeded that of any other Dio-
 cese

Y 3

^x Phillips, part 1, p.
 n. 13, numb. lxxxv.

^y Mem. vol. iii. Origina-

^z P. 159.

cese except *London* : but, says the Biographer, ‘ *not*
 ‘ *one* was put to death in that Diocese, after Cardi-
 ‘ *nal Pole* was promoted to that See.’ Strange !
 when the Biographer himself bears witness, but a
 few pages after, that ‘ a Commission was issued out
 ‘ by him, on occasion of several pernicious doctrines
 ‘ that were taught and propagated in the Diocese of
 ‘ *Canterbury* ; the Commissioners were required to
 ‘ inform themselves of the fact, and have it testi-
 ‘ fied by oath, in the manner the Law directs in such
 ‘ cases, which is favorable to the Criminal. They
 ‘ were to use their best endeavours to reclaim such
 ‘ persons ; but if they remain obstinate, they are to
 ‘ be excommunicated ; and *if the atrociousness of the*
 ‘ *crime requires it, delivered up to the Civil Magistrate.*
 ‘ In consequence of which Commission, he in-
 ‘ forms their Majesties of some who had been con-
 ‘ victed, and *leaves them to be punished as they deserve.*^a’
 This was certainly in the Diocese of *Canterbury*, and
 after Cardinal *Pole* was promoted to that See. And
 was *not one* of these put to death ? there are no less
 than five mentioned in the *Significavit* to their Majes-
 ties, of which *every one* was burnt, but seven days
 before the Cardinal’s death. And in the preceding
 year, throughout the whole of which he was Arch-
 bishop, there were six and twenty burnt in the po-
 pulous Diocese of *London*, and in the small Diocese
 of *Canterbury* no less than twenty four^b. If no re-
 gard to Truth or Justice finds a place in this prosti-
 tuted conscience, yet prudence not to hurt his cause
 by so barefaced a false testimony should have restrain-
 ed him. Judge, candid Reader, of *Pole’s* Tender-
 ness,

^a P. 165.

^b See Strype as above, p. 454.

ness, and *Phillips's* Veracity. A willingness to do justice to every man, inclines me not to conceal one good action of the Legate's, which his Encomiaſt has omitted, I mean his reſcuing twenty two from the flames, to which *Boner* would have ſentenced them. But when we conſider that all the Commiſſions were iſſued from him as Legate, and that therefore he put the torch into *Boner's* hand, with which he ſet fire to ſo many Martyrs, and that he raged himſelf ſo violently in his own Dioceſe, we muſt look on the deliverance of theſe twenty two, as a cenſure on *Boner's* ſeverity in that particular inſtance, though he allowed it in the reſt; perhaps as a popular device to appear more *juſt* than *Boner*, (for they ſigned a ſubmiſſion,) although he was not inclined to be more *merciful* to Hereticks. Indeed his own ſeverities, remarkable in his laſt year, are aſcribed to a terror he was under of the cenſure of Cardinal *Caraffa*, whom the Pope threatned to ſend into *England*, to examine the Legate's conduct^c.

The unhappy ſufferers were tried and condemned, ſays *Phillips*, on the Statutes of *Richard II.* and *Henry IV.* and *V.* To the firſt of theſe, the Commons deny they had ever given their aſſent, and therefore it was no Act*. And for the ſecond, which was 2 *Henry IV.* it was aſked by the Clergy, and granted by the King *de conſenſu Magnatum & aliorum Procerum*, without any mention of the Commons; but,

Y 4

as

^c Parker's Life of Reg. Pole.

* Il ne fuſt unques aſſentu ne grante par les coes, mes ce que fuſt parle de ce fuſt ſanz aſſent de lour qe ce lui eſtatut ſoit annienti. Rot. Parl. octav. S. Michel. 6 Rich. ii. n. 52.

as *Strype* relates from *Fox*, the Clergy afterwards corrupted the Rolls, and foisted in *the Commons* to make it a Law of the Land^d. It is certain the Commons petitioned against it nine years after, and call it a Statute made at the request of the Prelates and Clergy†. The proceedings of the Clergy perhaps at Common Law were better justified than those of the Sheriffs and Civil Magistrates by those Statutes. The first adjudged Heretick that was burnt in *England* is supposed to have been one of the *Albigenses* in the year 1210. In the primitive times, the Church assembled together to judge of any disputed point; and having determined an opinion to be erroneous, they excluded from their society the obstinate maintainers of it: More indeed they could not do, because the Civil Sword was not in their hands. When the Emperour became Christian, his Empire at that time comprehending the whole Church, he granted privileges to such of his Subjects as were Christians: if these held contrary opinions disobediently, they, as Hereticks and Schismaticks, were deprived of those privileges, *Anno Dom.* 326‡. But this conformity was expected only in Essentials, and they confined to the ground work of Christianity, one God in Trinity, *A. D.* 380§. And for the more assured

^d Mem. vol. 3. p. 458.

† *Que please a nostre foveraigne Seigneur le Roy grantier, qe si ascun soit ou ferra arreste par force de l'estatute fait l'an de vostre regne seconde, al requeste des Prelats & Clergie de vostre Royalme d'Engleterre. Rot. Parl. 11 Henr. IV. n. 29.*

‡ *Hæreticos atque schismaticos his privilegiis alienos. Cod. Theod. lib. 16. De Hæret. leg. 4.*

§ *Ibid. De fide Cathol. leg. 2.*

assured interpretation of that Doctrine, agreement with the then Bishops of *Rome, Constantinople, Laodicea, Tarsus, Antioch* and some others, was a sufficient proof of orthodoxy ; dissentients from them were to be removed out of the Church as manifest Hereticks||. The piety of the Bishops of *Rome*, the eminence of that City above all others in the Christian World, and the priority of order given by Canon to that See, by degrees made Communion with it the test of orthodoxy. During this progress to as low as *A. D. 800*, the spiritual Judge determined what was Heresie, and the Temporal enquired whether the person accused was guilty or not ; and also appointed the punishment, which they thought proper to inflict, to prevent the tumult and sedition that often grew upon such heterodoxy. *Priscillian*, the first who lost his life for heresy, was beheaded by the Civil Magistrate, 392 : the more orthodox Bishops were averse to this severity, and refused to communicate with those equally seditious Bishops who promoted it. About the year 1000, burning was introduced in many countries, but not into *England* till after Pope *Innocent III.* had erected the new Court of Inquisition ; then one of the *Albigenses* gave the first instance, *A. D. 1210* ; from which time it was the ordinary punishment in this Country for Heresy ; but the whole 343 years which passed from that period to the death of *Edward VI.* will not furnish so many executions as disgraced the five years only of the bloody reign of Queen *Mary*. ‘ But two years of her reign, says this Writer, had passed without
‘ any

|| Omnes autem qui ab eorum quos commemoratio specialis expressit fide communionis dissentiunt, ut manifestos hæreticos ab ecclesiis expelli. Ibid. leg. 6.

‘ any thing which had the air of persecution on account of Religion.’ And the reason is plane, though he does not chuse to mention it; the people much disquieted at the *Spanish Match*, and averse from admitting again the Pope’s Supremacy, and uneasy about the Church Lands, were not to be provoked and irritated by cruel and horrid executions: these points were not settled till the second year of her reign; but immediately on *Pole’s* arrival, and the adjusting those difficulties, when but half of her second year was expired, and in two months after the gentle *Pole* was received, Commissions were issued from him as Legate to try Hereticks; and two Bishops with several of the Clergy and others were burned. This was in her second year: and even in her first, many Bishops and the Clergy in general were deprived of their Bishopricks and Preferments for Religious opinions only; nay, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer* were tried and condemned for Heresy in her first year, without warrant of Law, by Commissions from the Queen and the Lord Chancellor. And whereas he endeavours to shift the charge from their Religion to their Sedition and opposing her Title, the treatment of the *Suffolk* men, of Judge *Hales*, and of Bishop *Hoper*, who were zealous and active for her Right of Succession, abundantly confutes this false testimony. Among a few instances of extravagancies of some Individuals, not countenanced by any persons of consequence, he reckons her Preacher being shot at in the Pulpit at *St. Paul’s*: had it not become an honest witness to tell us, that he was rescued from the resentment, which his indiscrete

discrete zeal raised, by *Bradford* and another Reformer, at hazard of their own lives? and afterwards one of them had this charitable act urged against him in proof of his being an accomplice, and received their thanks by a sentence to the fire. Beside the sufferings of the Protestants, and the tyranny of Papal power, other injuries were received and resented by the *English*, from the pride of the *Spaniards* and the Queen's partiality in their favor, which occasioned many Conspiracies and Insurrections; but the cause and the Persons were totally different. And nothing but a pen hackneyed in scandal could assign the offences of the latter, as the cause of the sufferings of the former. Was the design of robbing the Exchequer a Protestant plot? Angry men of no religion, to gain the Protestants, might profess themselves of their opinion, but the convicted, and their Accusers too, were all hanged as Rebels and not burned as Hereticks. Was not the Insurrection in the North, and the seizure of *Scarborough* Castle a Conspiracy encouraged by the French in resentment against the *Spaniard* for warring against the Pope? and it was punished by the Queen, with a rigor seldom known, for out of thirty-five persons convicted, but two escaped hanging. Which with her more than twenty gibbets in the streets of *London* for the execution of those concerned in *Wyatt's* rebellion, shew her Political resentments to be as cruel as her Religious zeal. The Queen's Title was never questioned, by any Protestants, after the death of the Lady *Jane*; and it was no article against the Martyrs, that they had attempted to disturb the publick tranquillity. Some weak-brained and enthusiastick Protestants were guilty of some unjustifiable

justifiable insults ; but it was hard that the ‘ sober
 ‘ Protestants should be brought to a reckoning, and
 ‘ forced to pay dearly for the follies of those men,
 ‘ which it was not in their powers to hinder.’ And
 equally unjust that they should at this time be re-
 proached with crimes, of which they were not guilt-
 ty. The Supplication of the unfeigned Favorers
 of the Gospel in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* against the Com-
 missions for Hereticks, and seizing the lands, tene-
 ments and goods of such as fled, acknowledges
 ‘ the Regal power and authority to stand whole and
 ‘ perfectly in her Grace,’ and that ‘ their bodies,
 ‘ goods, lands and lives were ready to do her Grace
 ‘ faithful, obedient and true service, in all com-
 ‘ mandments, that were not against God and his
 ‘ Word.’ But the gentle *Pole* had erected his
 Court of Inquisition in *England*, and the gentle *Ma-*
ry took care to keep the Kingdom in a blaze. Yet
 this Biographer treats the horrors of this reign as tri-
 fles, which none but old women can feel, and chil-
 dren can be scared with ; they are no more, forsooth,
 than *the dismal ditties of the Nursery*; or as *Pole*, with
 like insensibility, calls them, ‘ a multitude of bram-
 ‘ bles and briars cast into the fire. Did they not proclaim
 it of themselves, one could hardly imagine there
 could be in the World, Beings, who call themselves
 men, so entirely divested of humanity. Our Wri-
 ter is not ashamed to boast of the *moderation* in that
 reign, and to quote *Heylin* in proof of it ; *Heylin*
 indeed compares four Dioceses to the land of *Goshen*,
 where the people of God enjoyed light, but the com-
 parison

‘ Heylin’s Hist. Ref. 2d edit. fol. P. II, pag. 47.
 § Strype’s Mem. 4th edit. vol. 3, p. 342.

parison implies a terrible darkness over the rest of the Kingdom. I beg leave to refer this Writer back again to *Heylin*, and to read there a description of that moderation which he seems so delighted with, especially in the Legate's Diocese, ' *Harpsfield*, ' Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and *Thornton*, the Suf- ' fragan of *Dover*, are said to have poured out ' blood like water.^h' And ' beside those that suf- ' fered martyrdom in the sight of the world, many ' are thought to have been made away in prison : ' but many more, to the number of some scores or ' hundreds, supposed to have been killed by starv- ' ing, stinks, and other barbarous usages in their ' several Jails. To which if we should add a cata- ' logue of all those who fled the Kingdom, and put ' themselves into a voluntary exile, amounting to ' the number of 800 or thereabout, I suppose it may ' be well concluded, that though many persecutions ' may have lasted longer (though this lasted within ' a week of the deaths of Queen *Mary* and her ' Archbishop *Pole*) yet none since *Dioclesian's* time ' ever raged so horribly.ⁱ' Such was the moderation of this reign on Dr. *Heylin's* testimony. These cruel acts of *Mary*, Mr. *Phillips* ascribes (not much to her honor) to *her fondness for a husband twelve years younger than herself* ^k : but *Philip*, though a monster of cruelty, set his Friars to preach against the thirst for blood so notorious in this reign ; which this Writer would insinuate was less than in that of her Successor's, Queen *Elisabeth's*, by pretending that ' *he will not retaliate, but chuse to cover heats* ; yet he ' boldly

^h Hist. Reform. part 2, p. 56.

ⁱ Ibid, p. 57.

^k P. 166.

‘ boldly affirms that she made actions of *mere religious*
‘ *import*, treason and felony, and punished those who
‘ performed them accordingly.¹’ Nineteen years
of her reign passed before one Popish Priest suffered,
and that not till six years after the Pope had dis-
charged her Subjects of their allegiance to her, and
the Priests were detected in seditious practices.
Then, in her thirteenth year, she found it high
time to prevent the execution of Papal Bulls and
Instruments, which were sent over to deprive her of
her Kingdoms, by making it High Treason; and
in her twenty seventh year, having escaped many
attempts on her life by Emissaries sent from the Pope
for that purpose, she judged it reasonable to keep at
a distance strangers, whose errand here she had so
little reason to like, by making it Treason for Je-
suits, Priests, or other Ecclesiastical persons of the
Church of *Rome*, to come into, or remain in her
Kingdoms. I am sorry to find this Writer thinks
dethroning and murdering Princes are actions of
mere religious import. The difference of the two
reigns was, that under the Popish *Mary* peaceable
Protestants were burnt for Heresy; under the Pro-
testant *Elisabeth* rebellious Papists were hanged for
treason. Yet this Writer has the assurance to in-
sinuate, that the latter was as great a religious Perse-
cutor as the former; but that *he chuses to cover heats,*
not spread and perpetuate them. His practices shew
in what manner he chuses to cover heats;—so as to
cherish them in secret till they shall be strong enough
to lend a brand to light the *Smithfield* fires again; who
trusts to such *covering of heats*,

incedit

¹ Ibid.

incedit per ignes
Suppositos cineri dolosos.

The Biographer proceeds to exculpate Popery by charging all that effusion of blood on the genius of the *English*, and not on that of his corrupt Church, saying, ‘ these statutes are Laws of the *English* Realm, not Canons of the Catholick Church ; and make no part either of her Faith or Discipline.^m’ It is something strange, and something inconsistent, that *humanity and all that milder merit of the heart*, which he says in his Prefaceⁿ, are deservedly attributed to the *English*, should incline them to enact such bloody laws, as Papists affect to blush at. But to do justice to my Country against this slanderer of her humanity, I must tell him, that the *English* nation was the last to admit this cruel punishment. When Pope *Alexander III.* in 1163, had forbidden any one to receive, deal with, or entertain Hereticks, and, that in consequence, thirty *Dutch-men* were starved to death in *England* in 1166, afterwards, the same King, *Henry II.* would not execute this severe *Church Law*, nor what was elsewhere used, burning*. And the Statutes referred to were petitioned for by *the Clergy*, and objected against by the Commons : so that it was the cruel spirit of Popery that prevailed over the natural humanity of the *English* in those statutes. ‘ But the Catholick Church, he says, is so far from adjudg-
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^m P. 166.

ⁿ P. xii.

* Publicani, comburebantur in pluribus locis per regnum Franciæ, quod Rex Angliæ nullo modo permisit in terrâ suâ, licet ibi essent perplurimi. Hoveden. anno 1182.

ing Hereticks to corporal punishment, much less
 to death, that all her criminal proceedings against
 such as are accused of heresy cease when the Cause
 is cleared up, and her punishments extend no fur-
 ther than the spiritual state of the offender. I
 shall exemplify this, says he, in as solemn an in-
 stance of the Church's Jurisdiction as the case ad-
 mits; and exerted by a Pope as jealous of his
 prerogative as ever filled the Pontifical throne:
 this was *Paul IV.* who in his Decree of *Cran-*
mer's condemnation, which is directed to *Philip* and
Mary, only requires them to deal with him, after
 he is delivered up to the secular Court, as the Law di-
 rects, without the least insinuation of any bodily pu-
 nishment. The same sentence, in similar cases, is so
 universally understood not to extend to mutilation, or
 taking away the life of the Delinquent, that the Bi-
 shop, or whoever delivers him to the Civil Magistrate,
 always concludes the proceedings of the Spiritual
 Court in this manner; *We beseech you with all ear-*
nestness, that for the love of Almighty God, and on the
motive of compassion, and because we ask it of you,
that you will not condemn this miserable person to death,
or the loss of his limbs.° This reminds me of a ri-
 diculous instance of pity, which I once saw: a
 tender hearted lady who had scarce a less aversion to
 a toad, than a good Catholick has to an Heretick, de-
 tected one within her own doors; she runs for the
 tongs, commits the unhappy delinquent to its iron
 gripe, carries him out of doors, and being too com-
 passionate to put him to death herself, delivers him
 from

from her tongs to a cart rote, and claps a brick-bat over him for safer durance, till the next waggon passing by should be her executioner and crush the poor thing to pieces. Her self-complacence on this act of tenderness was ridiculous enough : but it had appeared worse than ridiculous, had she waited till the waggoner came near, and then begged him for God's sake not to destroy one of his creatures, but oblige her so far as to turn a little out of the way ; and when, thinking her in earnest, he had done so, if she should prosecute him for driving over her pavement and breaking the stones of it, what should we then think of the lady's gentle disposition, and sweetness of temper ? Such is the boast of tenderness with which Mr. *Phillips* exults in behalf of his *compassionate* Church. The very statutes, to which he would shift off from the Church the cruelty of the execution, were obtained at the entreaty of their bloody Clergy ; and the consent, which the Commons denied, was fraudulently inserted by the Churchmen^p, to give them efficacy of Laws. And if the Civil Magistrate, moved by an undissembled pity, should yield to their solemn deprecations of loss of life and limb, and endeavour to save the Convict, or even venture to delay the execution but six days, it is the constant tenet of the Canonists, relying on a Bull of *Alexander IV.* A. D. 1260, that he may be compelled to it by spiritual censures, excommunication, deprivation, and loss of authority and office. Can this extraordinary Biographer believe that we cannot see, because he winks hard ; or, that the cruelty of his Church can be covered or extenuated

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by

* *Strype's Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 459.

by the addition of so solemn a piece of Hypocrisy, and the profane mockery of taking God's name in vain, to deprecate a sentence which they will not permit the Civil Magistrate to leave unexecuted ? so that Mr. *Phillips* is guilty of a gross misrepresentation in saying, ' the Laws of *England*, at the time I am speaking of, punished heresy with death, but the Church is not accountable for Laws which she did not establish, and leaves their execution to whom it belongs.' The common Law of *England* might be so, but that was custom which began and grew up from the Bulls of Popes ; and the statutes he refers to had not the approbation of the Commons, as the Commons themselves declare, and therefore strictly were not of force : but whatever force they had, or by whatever means acquired, *the Church* certainly was accountable for Laws to which she not only gave her assent, but even persuaded and solicited that they should pass (if she did no more) ; nor did she leave their execution to whom it belongs, but compelled the Civil Magistrate by spiritual censures to execute those Laws which their influence obtained.

§. 29. *The Death of the Cardinal.* After this killing and taking possession by the Cardinal, there are but few events that deserve our notice before his death. The letter of thanks, which Mr. *Phillips* mentions as sent to the University of *Oxford* on their chusing him to be their Chancellor, is evidently mistaken ; the internal marks shew that it was his Letter sent to *Cambridge* on the like occasion. This indeed affects not either the life of *Pole*, or

or Mr. *Phillips*'s general design; but it is a reflection on the accuracy of the Compiler who can transmit such obvious mistakes, in a History which pretends to so much precision and exactness. *Quirini* indeed, whom he too implicitly follows, inscribes the Letter, *To the College at Oxford, (Collegio Oxoniensi;*)* but the contents evidently shew that it was addressed *To the University of Cambridge*: for they, who chose him, mention *Fisher* and *Gardiner* as having been at the head of their University; whereupon the Legate reminds them, how much their thanks were due to God, whose singular favor had given them such Guides and Patrons; and then mentions their choice of him, to succede in their place*. Now, Mr. *Phillips* must know, though *Quirini* might not, that *Fisher* and *Gardiner* were both Chancellors of *Cambridge* and not of *Oxford*: besides, his Letter dated 1 April 1556, was seven months before he was chosen Chancellor of *Oxford*.

However, Chancellor of *Oxford* he was; and, as Mr. *Phillips* informs us, took care to have the statutes revised, and where he found any thing deficient, he applied a remedy, and added what he further judged necessary for the better regulation of the University. On this account several candid Protestant Writers have acknowledged this feat of Learning to have flourished more in his time, than either

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under

* Vol. v. p. 89.

* In primis Deo gratiæ à vobis sunt agenda, cujus hoc fuit singulare beneficium, quod tales vobis duces et patronos dederit. Quod verò ut in eorum locum apud vos succedam, magnopere rogatis. *Quirini*, vol. v. p. 89.

under *Edward* or *Elisabeth*^s. Doubtless, that revision of the statutes must have been excellent, that could effect so much in so little time ; for he was Chancellor of *Oxford* only two years and two weeks.—But candid Protestant Writers acknowledge it—Who ?—*Why* Archbishop *Laud*.—Where ?—In a passage in those statutes revised and published by him.—The passage referred to is not in those statutes, but in the Preface to them ; which Preface the Archbishop says *he did not write* ; and we know it was written by Dr. *Peter Turner*, a Physician^t. So these candid Protestant Writers are reduced to *one* ; not Archbishop *Laud*, as he says, but Dr. *Turner* ; and the place referred to, not in the statutes, as he says, but in the Preface. Now let us examine the evidence : It is called in to prove that Chancellor *Pole* took care to have the statutes of the University of *Oxford* revised, and that where he found any thing deficient he applied a remedy, and on this account, that seat of Learning flourished more in his time, than either under *Edward* and *Elisabeth*. The passage witnesses that a revision of the statutes had been made in *Edward VIth's* time, and again undertaken in *Queen Mary's* under the direction of *Pole*, which was on as narrow a plan as the former : but that in the mean time (which equally refers to *Edward's* reign as well as to *Mary's*) the University flourished—not by *Pole's* amendment of the statutes, but because an ingenuous candor supplied the defect of statutes, and what was wanting in the Laws was made up by the manners. And as this flourishing estate of *Oxford* is equally ascribed to the reign of *Edward* and of *Mary*, by the word *interim*

OF

^s P. 172.^t Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 132.

or in the mean time, which Mr. *Phillips* did not chuse to translate, so, Archbishop *Laud* says, it was intended to take in also the reigns of *Elisabeth* and *James I.* and was meant, ‘ as much in relation to the times of Princes following, as her’s (Queen *Mary’s*) for that *interim* cannot be restrained to Queen *Mary’s* days only, but must include the whole interim or middle distance of time to that present, in which I settled the body of the statutes, that is, all Queen *Elisabeth’s* and King *James’s* days.’ Which leaves above thirty years to experience how much those statutes needed reformation, after that ingenuous candor had ceased to supply their defects. So that to prove the excellence of *Pole’s* revision of the statutes of *Oxford*, he produces an Evidence that witnesses its defects; to prove the University flourished by the means of *Pole’s* correcting those statutes, his Evidence tells us, it flourished not by virtue of his statutes or those of his Predecessor, but by an ingenuous candor which supplied their defects; and to prove that *Oxford* flourished more under *Mary’s* reign than it did either under *Edward* or *Elisabeth*, his Evidence declares that the flourishing estate of that University equally relates to the reigns of *Edward*, *Mary*, *Elisabeth*, and *James*. Such were the points to be proved; such the evidence to support them!

The chief part of his eleventh section is taken up with the Legate’s behaviour under the treatment he received from *Paul IV.* From which we learn, that the Pope was morose, fierce, imperious, revengeful, implacable; no very encouraging cha-

rather to seduce the *English* Reader to bend his willing neck under the yoke of such a tyrant. *Caraffa*, it is true, is dead; but it would be a ridiculous curiosity to make an experiment whether the Conclave, in successive elections, could find us out another as bad as he. Nay, it might be difficult perhaps to chuse a better; for he tells us, this very *Caraffa*, 'not only excelled in sacred literature, but ever' (that is before he became Pope) preserved a reputation clear from the least suspicion of vice^w: but a conduct subject to no controul, whose very vices are not only excused but sanctified, and the iniquitous intrigues necessary to maintain that usurped dominion, are extraordinary temptations, to which the ordinary succours of grace are seldom a sufficient balance: a view of which made this Pope's Predecessor tremble at the giddy height to which he was exalted, and wonder how a Pope could be saved. If there be any latent vice in the disposition, the warm sun-shine of Papal power will be sure to call it out; and how *blameless a Prelate* soever the Archbishop of *Theatea* might have been, *Paul IV.* was a detestable Pope.

As to the Legate's behaviour on the occasion, it was, as it always had been, vain, timid, and irresolute. No sooner had the Pope engaged *France* in a War with *Philip*, and thereby involved *England* in the quarrel, but the Legate must needs try again his unfortunate talents at negotiating, in an attempt, by his rhetorick, to dissuade his Holiness from his hostile dispositions. This address, although it was written (in the opinion of his Biographer) *with the*
wisdom

wisdom of a Counsellor and the sanctity of a Primate^x, yet, with the like ill fate which attended all his other attempts on similar occasions, it disgusted more than persuaded: and the Pope, as *Henry VIII.* the *English* Parliament, the Emperour, and *French* King had done before, looked on his officious scribbling zeal, as a troublesome censure of his past conduct, and considered his advice as a breach of duty rather than a proof of it^y.

Nor did the intimacy in which he had lived with the Pope formerly, or his cruel commissions against Hereticks in *England* at this time, satisfy that Pontiff, or erase the suspicions of heterodoxy which he imagined he had grounds to entertain against the Legate. Mr. *Phillips* is willing to suppose that this suspicion was increased by his lenity in screening the persons of those who had left *the Church*, as he calls that corrupt part of it to which he schismatically joins himself: but *Pole* was taking very zealous steps to wipe off the suspicions he had raised before, by a vigorous persecution of the Protestants, within six weeks after he had entered the Kingdom. If the Pope knew he was a favorer of some of their tenets, his fear of encouraging further suspicions, may account for those cruel executions through the Kingdom, for all were by Commission from him, and all subject to his controul: but then it betrays the timid spirit of the man, and his want of constancy to profess that truth of which he was convinced. The sagacious Pontiff looked on his conduct, not as a proof of his orthodoxy, in the Roman opinion, but as a Coward's cover to screen himself from danger. He deprived

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him

* P. 180.

y P. 183. 184.

him of his Legatine Commission, substituted another, recalled him to *Rome* to answer for himself; refused his friend *Priuli* the Bishoprick of *Brescia* from the like suspicions, and threw Cardinal *Morone* his most intimate acquaintance into prison for the same reason.

This set him again on writing to the Pope, in defence of himself and his friends: in which Letter he claims to be credited on advancing a notorious falsehood, saying, that ‘ he never suffered *any one* calamity, of the many which had fallen to his share ‘ of which the Hereticks were not the Authors.²’ Did he not complain of injurious treatment from the Emperour, and the *French* King in his Embassies to them? Were they Hereticks? Did he not complain of the Emperour again, of *Philip* and *Mary*, and *Gardiner* for keeping him so long out of *England*, when sent hither as the Pope’s Legate? if he never suffered *any one* calamity of which the Hereticks were not the Authors, either those injuries of which he so loudly complained were *no* calamities, or we must believe the Pope’s charge against him, for none but a Protestant would call those *Hereticks*. Nay, being deprived of the Legatine Honor, and charged before the Inquisition for heresy, was no calamity, or the Pope, who was the Author of both, was an Heretick in *Pale*’s account; who compares himself to *Isaac*, and the Pope to *Abraham*, with the fire and the sword in his hand to slay his son; and then with a personated piety and magnanimity cries out, ‘ may ‘ God accept the sacrifice^a;’ but in the same breath tells him, he has no apprehension of dying for all that;

² P. 193.

^a P. 195.

that: ' yet still I trust, he will no more permit you
 ' to procede, than he did the Patriarch to kill his
 ' Son.^a' He says indeed, ' when he received the Car-
 ' dinalate, as he lay prostrate before the altar, he told
 ' the Pope, he delivered himself as a victim to him.^a'
 But he adds here, ' that he little imagined he should
 ' be put to this trial; especially as he hoped the Bi-
 ' shop of *Rochester* had been substituted in his place,
 ' as the ram was in that of *Isaac*.^a' And indeed,
 whenever he blusters about his being ready to die,
 he constantly betrays his timidity by the care he
 takes to prevent his *dying without metaphor*. As we
 see at this very time in a Letter to Cardinal *Trani*,
 which accompanied the above to the Pope; in which
 he desires it may be represented to *Paul*, that if he
 deprives him (*Pole*) of his Legatine jurisdiction, and
 cites him to answer in the Inquisition at *Rome*, af-
 fairs are in such a crisis in *England*, that the Pope
 will be in danger of losing his Supremacy there: the
 same was also intimated to him by the Queen. And
Strype tells us, that there were, on that occasion,
 certain Questions put to some of the learned Lawyers
 of this realm, touching the Pope's jurisdiction in
England. Which, together with their Answers, are
 still extant in the *Paper House*. This, says he, was
 like to prove somewhat dangerous to the Pope, had he
 not desisted^b. The Legate added another threat to
 intimidate his Holiness, which was, that he might
 possibly write an Apology, ' lest his silence should
 ' be brought an Evidence against him: but whether
 ' he was to pursue this method or not, depended
 ' wholly

^a P. 195.
^c P. 203.

^b Eccl. Memorials, vol. iii. p. 398.

‘ wholly on the Pope.’ But perhaps, if his first threat had not been more awakening than his second, the Pope had not *dissembled his suspicions, nor permitted him to continue his Legate à latere.*

This Apology or Libel the Legate had actually prepared : but, says the Writer of his life, perceiving it would be unfavorable to the Pope’s reputation, he threw it into the fire ; repeting these words of *Deuteronomy, non revelabis verenda patris tui.* *Pole* did not mention *Deuteronomy*, nor refer to it, nor are the words to be found there ; but he refers to the flagitious action of *Cham*, who mocked at, and exposed his Father as he lay drunk and naked in his Tent. And as the curse of *Cham* for exposing his natural Father did not restrain *Pole* with regard to his political Father, *Henry VIII.* we cannot, consistently, suppose it to have prevented his sending this Invective to his spiritual Father, the Pope. But ostentation and a solemn hypocrisy always led *Pole* to give a religious varnish to whatever he did. It is probable, he sometimes deceived himself, as well as others ; but in this case his Biographer has given us a sufficient reason for burning his angry Letter, in telling us, from one of his Historians, that *the Pope put off the final decision of the cause* ; and *Pole*, fond as he was of writing Apologies, did not think it prudent to exasperate his Holiness again by a needless provocation.

If we wanted more instances of *Pole*’s fluctuating genius, or of Mr. *Phillips*’s misrepresentations as an Historian, we have an example of each in the last act recorded in this life of the Cardinal, the Letter written by him, as this Biographer relates, *to the Queen, sometime before his death.* *Sometime before his death*

Death should seem to intimate more than two or three days, which was the fact: but indeed he dates the Letter, *Oct.* 4, and defers his death to *Dec.* 17. The latter mistake he has corrected in the *errata*, and the date of the Letter should be six weeks later. Must both these mistakes be ascribed to his private press at *Oxford*? or is there not something of design that his false account may appear to hang the better together. The true date of this Letter was 14 *Nov.* but two days before the Queen died; of whose declining state the Legate had frequent intelligence during his illness: The purpose of the Letter and Message was to excuse himself to the person to whom it was addressed, and satisfy her of his behaviour; this was to be done by the Dean of *Worcester*. Sure there was no occasion for him to write to the dying Queen on this occasion, whose chief favorite and Counsellor he had always been; nor do we hear of any misunderstanding between them, much less one of such importance as to need an explanation at her last gasp, and to send an Orator to waste her precious moments by a long detail just as she was dying: but his behaviour to her Grace, the Princess *Elizabeth*, who had been imprisoned, ill-treated, and more than once in danger of the axe, from the malice of the Administration, of which he was considered as chief, might need an Apology; especially, if he should happen to survive the Queen, whose death was hourly expected; this might appear necessary to secure *Elizabeth's* future favor to him so long as he might live, and to bespeak some toleration at least for the Church then established. The Princess was at leisure to hear from his chaplain the elucidation of his conduct, and his powerful

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ful motives in behalf of his Church, which were too long for the sick Legate to commit to writing. Accordingly, *Collier* would have informed our Biographer that this Letter was written to the Princess *Elisabeth*, two days before the Queen died, and only three before the Cardinal's own death, which happened, says Mr. *Phillips*, two and twenty hours after that of the Queen. Thus at a time when, as he himself justly observes, he ought to have cast aside all cares of this world, and transferred his thoughts on that, into which he was going to enter, his timid spirit was anxious to shelter his trembling remains of life from the resentment of the injured Princess; and from his darling, catholick, dying *Mary*, turns his addresses, his Court, and his prayers to the feared, Protestant, rising *Elisabeth*. Ashamed of which meanness and servility, his Biographer thinks it more honorable to represent this Letter as a needless Apology to the Queen. The Death of the Cardinal is mentioned to recommend the Popish Sacrament of *Extreme Unction*; by which, says our Biographer, 'we are strengthened to withstand the last assault of our spiritual Enemies, to bear up against the weakness of nature, and die the death of the Righteous.^d' This I acknowledge is no unfair representation of *Extreme Unction*, according to the Council of *Trent*. But we ask, where is the Divine Promise that such effects shall attend this Rite? The Council of *Trent* says, It is insinuated by St. *Mark*^e, and published by St. *James*^f. Both speak of the miraculous Gift of Healing the Sick; he who had the Gift, being full of the Holy Ghost, knew when

^d P. 214.^e ch. vi. 13.^f v. 15.

when his prayer would be successful, *the Prayer of Faith shall save the Sick, and the Lord shall restore him.* And if the disease was for the punishment of Sin, in order to remove the effect, the cause was done away: *and if he hath committed Sins, they shall be forgiven him.* This anointing and Prayer continued, with effect, as long as the Gift of Healing continued, and there are some evidences of its practice through the first six Ages: thus far it was not *Extreme Unction*, but an anointing applied to those who, they were persuaded, were not then dying, but should *certainly* live by a recovery from their sickness. After the miraculous Gift ceased, the Rite continued, in charity, *in hopes* of the sick man's recovery; but having no miraculous knowledge or power, it grew to be generally applied, and therefore was very often without success; but then they never *intended* it should be an *Extreme Unction*, and the health of the sick was still the object. At length, so late as the XIIth Century, the Church of Rome changed the purpose of it, using it as a mean *to withstand the last assault of their spiritual enemies*; for which they have no authority from Scripture or Primitive practice. And of the truth of this, the best Writers in their own Church are sensible: Cardinal Cajetan speaks thus of the passage in St. James; ‘ It
 ‘ neither appears by the words, nor by the effect,
 ‘ that he speaks of the Sacrament of *Extreme Uncti-*
 ‘ *on*, but rather of that Unction which our Lord
 ‘ appointed in the Gospel, to be used upon sick per-
 ‘ sons by his Disciples. For the Text does not say,
 ‘ *Is any man sick unto death?* but absolutely, *Is any*
 ‘ *man sick?* and it makes the effect to be the Re-
 ‘ covery of the sick, and speaks but conditionally
 ‘ of

‘ of the Forgiveness of Sins : Whereas, *Extreme*
 ‘ *Unction* is not given, but when a man is almost at
 ‘ the point of death, and as the form of words
 ‘ then used sufficiently shews, it tends directly to the
 ‘ Forgiveness of Sins.^g’

The Biographer’s long harangue, in recapitulating the character of the Cardinal, would be too tedious to examine ; it is sufficiently answered by the foregoing strictures on those misrepresented facts and authorities on which he builds his praise : an instance or two may be necessary.

He had an utter aversion to flattery and falshood^h. His Letters to the Pope, the Emperour, the French King, and his last to the Lady Elisabeth, disprove his aversion to flattery : his glosses to deceive, and then, especially when he calls God to witness, are notorious proofs of his falshood : indeed his cowardice was too great to permit him to act with truth and simplicity. No one had ever taken offence at the ingenuous freedom with which he spoke his sentiment in the Consistoryⁱ : his timidity made him afraid designedly to offend any one ; or, if he happened to do it, he had wit enough to explain away his meaning, and reconcile himself to men of different sentiments ; both Papists and Protestants thought him their own. The same disposition made him wary and circumspect in his ordinary conversation, even with his intimate friends^k ; fear and design kept him always upon his guard, and he never talked, but from behind a mask. This wariness and circumspection in his ordinary conversation, even with his intimate friends, is not very consistent

^g See Clagget on the pretended Sacrament of Extreme Unction. In Popish Tracts, vol. ii. Tr. vii. p. 60.
^h P. 220. ⁱ Ibid. ^k Ibid.

consistent with what follows, and which indeed his whole life contradicts ; that *his temper was open and ingenuous, being unacquainted with the wiles of policy, and the corruption of the great World* : He was too well acquainted with the latter to be a thoroughly honest man ; yet stopped too short to be an able politician. He had ambition enough through intrigues, treason, and rebellion, to aim at the crown ; but his heart was too faint to venture into *England* and head the malecontents : his talents were only calculated to hold the lighted match, and set fire to the train at a distance : yet his prostrations and protestations of love and affection to his King at the same time gave a ridiculous inconsistency to his conduct, and made him on that occasion, and in every other negotiation, to fail of success. He had not a greatness of mind sufficient to sustain any character. The Protestants experienced that he was a bloody persecutor in *England* ; and the Conclave suspected his Catholicism at *Viterbo* : he was for ever disappointed, and he disgusted every body. He required an assurance from the Pope that he should not be recalled to *Rome*, but be permitted, for the ease of his conscience, to attend his pastoral care at *Canterbury* ; this was a pretence only to secure himself from the Inquisition of the Conclave ; and after he had obtained this grant, he carried on the farce so far as to intreat the Queen to consent to his residing on his Bishoprick ; knowing full well, that this could not be complied with, his attendance near the Metropolis being as necessary for the general care of the Church, as his attendance at the Court would be necessary for the Civil Administration. He was therefore easily persuaded to make over the particular
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care of his Diocese to Commissioners. To prove that he was void of ambition, Mr. *Phillips* informs us, that the *Earldom of Warwick* was devolved to him by inheritance ; yet all the instances of his family to make out his titles could never prevail on him to do so^l. That title sunk in the attainder of his Uncle ; his Mother was created Countess of *Salisbury*, which title her attainder also forfeited : the Cardinal's elder Brother, as this Biographer tells us, left a Son, the Lord *Montague*^m ; in this piece of history indeed he is mistaken, for that Lord *Montague* was Sir *Anthony Browne* : but yet the Cardinal had still two elder Brothers living : how then came he intitled to the *Earldom of Warwick* by inheritance ? He was invested with the most ample Legatine powers, which, had he made the same use of as others had done, would have been very lucrative. But every department of it was served without feesⁿ. But the story Mr. *Strickland* tells^o, proves that his Office was a scene of the most shameless rapacity. The love of his Country crowned all his virtues. If we consider what he did and suffered on this Principle, we shall confess no one had ever a better claim to the title of a Patriot than Cardinal Pole^p. If raising Civil Wars and commotions, reducing his Country under a foreign yoke, destroying the natural right of private judgment, erecting a Court of Inquisition, throwing her Inhabitants into the fire, for not thinking with him, be Mr. *Phillips's* idea of a Patriot, he has reason to call the Cardinal one ; and may, as far as wishes and some faint endeavours go, himself come in for a porportionable claim : but I
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^l P. 228. ^m P. 78. ⁿ P. 228. • *Crashaw's*
Mittimus, p. 30. ^p P. 230.

am persuaded his Country, while she preserves her senses, will form a very different judgment both of the Cardinal, and of his Biographer. *Amongst the many congratulations, which came to him from all parts, on his being honored with the purple, because none came from England, he refused to enjoy the gale, of which his Country did not partake*⁹. Equally praise-worthy was the spirit of *Haman*, who amidst the honors and congratulations he received on every side, on seeing *Mordecai* refuse his cap and knee, cried out, *All this availeth me nothing*^r. In fine, on Mary's accession, he overlooked all the sweets of a studious and contemplative life, which he had chosen at *Maruza*, and embarked, as he says, with a full knowledge of the difficulties he was to encounter, on the stormy and turbulent ocean of a new and divided administration^s. He retired to *Maruza* in disgust, and as *Chryses*, to indulge the turbulent emotions of his grief, chusing a scene corresponding to his troubled mind,

Βῆ δ' ἀκῆων παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοσβοῖο θαλάσσης. *Iliad* I.

Walk'd pensive by the murmuring ocean's shore;

So the Cardinal indulging his melancholly, seated himself at *Maruza*, which Mr. *Phillips* describes, from *Virgil*, as abounding with lakes and storms; I suppose to indicate the suitableness of the situation to the present temper of the inhabitant.

Adde lacus tantos; te Lari maxime, teque
Fluctibus et fremitu assurgens, Benace, marino.

Georg. II.

A a

Which

Which may be thus accommodated,

His copious tears where weeping *Larius* pours,
And swoln *Benacus* with the tempest roars.

But, as soon as he heard of *Mary's* accession, his humor changed, he left his lakes and storms for the splendors of a crown which he hoped to share with the new Queen. The difficulties he encountered were from the Emperour, which by his behaviour he appears *not to have foreseen*; and though disappointed in his main view, he hoped at least for honors in his native country: from whose *administration, as new and divided*, if he apprehended any difficulties, they were *ideal only* and the creatures of his own fears; for he met with none, but took the uncontrouled lead both in the Ecclesiastical and Civil departments. *He had ever shewn remarkable mildness to those who dissented from the doctrine of the church of Rome;—and in the government of Viterbo, and the Diocese of Canterbury, his behaviour was such as to give his enemies a pretext to misrepresent his lenity towards those who erred, as an indication of his favoring error.*^t By *error* here the Gentleman means the reformed doctrines; and, if the Cardinal did not favor them at *Viterbo*, the Protestants mistook his lenity; but, as to his behaviour at *Canterbury*, the mistake is Mr. *Phillips's*, in representing it as having any lenity in it; for, in his half County of *Kent*, more were put to death in one year, than in any other whole County in *England*: the Metropolis itself, with all *Middlesex*,
under

^t P. 232, 233.

under the rage and fury of *Boner*, did not furnish so many executions.

It may seem unfair in me to suppress, that Dr. *Heylin* expresses a difficulty in believing, that the Cardinal could entertain any thought of the Crown; although he allows the fact is attested by such unexceptionable authority that he will not dispute it. His authority is a passage in *Speed's Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, Book ix. ch. 21. §. 103. in these words; ‘ The Monasteries thus dissolved, and the Revenues thereof converted to temporal uses, King *Henry* ran in great obloquie of many foreign potentates, but most especially of the Pope; who with Cardinal *Poole* instigated divers Princes to invade *England*, thus fallen from his Faith: yea, and home-born Subjects disliking the course for papistical subversion, by secret working sought to deprive King *Henry*, and to raise up *Reynold Poole* unto the Regal Dignity, as by their inditements appeareth. The persons convicted were Lord *Henry Courtney*, Marquis of *Excester* and Earl of *Devonshire*, the Son of Lady *Katharine*, the seventh Daughter of King *Edward* the fourth: *Henrie Poole* Lord *Montacute*, with Sir *Geffrey*, his Brother, and Sir *Edward Nevill*, Brother to the Lord of *Abergavenny*. These *Pools* were the Sonnes of Lady *Margaret* Countess of *Salisbury*, the only Daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*; and of these, *Reinold Poole* once Dean of *Excester*, and now Cardinal at *Rome*, was accounted the only man.’ On this Dr. *Heylin* observes, ‘ which (design of advancing *Reginald Pole* to the Regal Throne) how it could consist with the pretensions

of the Marquise of *Exeter*, or the ambition of the Lord *Montacute*, the elder Brother of this *Reginald*, it is hard to say. But, having the Chronicle of *John Speed* to justify me in the Truth hereof, in this particular, I shall not take upon me to dispute the point.' *Heylin's Hist. of the Reform.* p. 10. Dr. *Heylin* plainly mistook the design: neither the Marquis nor Lord *Montague* made any pretensions to the Crown as nearer Heirs to it than *Henry VIII.* but having been taught (by the Cardinal) that *Henry* had forfeited his Crown, and being offended at the King (by means of the same Incendiary) for illegitimizing the Lady *Mary*, they plotted to set *Henry* aside, and place *Mary* in his throne; and, to strengthen her hands in maintenance of it, to give her *Reginald* for a Husband, who, says *Speed*, of the *Pole's*, was accounted the only man. Not as better intitled to the Crown than his elder Brothers, but as fittest for her Husband, being the youngest of them, the only one unmarried, and best able from his connection with the Pope to secure her against her Father's resentment.

The design of depriving the King of his Crown, and conveying it to *Reginald Pole*, is reported by the Chronicles, Histories, Letters, and Writers of that Age, Papists as well as Protestants; on the information of the Cardinal's own Brother Sir *Geofrey Pole*, and by the execution of other his near Relations for treason fully and duly proved*. The Cardinal's great Friend Dr. *Tonstal*, a Popish Bishop, having censured

* See Lord *Herbert's* Life of *Henry VIII.* p. 439, and the Continuer of *Fabian's* Chronicle at the 30th year of the King's reign, p. 489.

censured him for his open and notorious Treason,
 ‘ his pestilent and divelish purpose, to destroy the
 ‘ Country he was born in, which any heathen man
 ‘ would abhor to do,’ in going ‘ about from Prince
 ‘ to Prince, and from Country to Country, to
 ‘ stir them to war against this realm ;’ tells us also
 of ‘ pernicious Treasons late *secretly* wrought against
 ‘ this realm, which were marvellously detected by the
 ‘ work of Almighty God, being disclosed by his
 ‘ own Brother ; and that condign punishment had en-
 ‘ sued *. Many other perversions of History I have
 purposely omitted, knowing they will be fully o-
 pened by the Learned Dr. *Neve* in his *Animadver-*
sions now in the press ; and others I have the less at-
 tended to, assured his careful pen will detect them :
 my solicitude having been chiefly to discover the un-
 scriptural and seditious Design of Mr. *Phillips* in
 his late Performance, and occasionally to point out
 his misrepresentations of Facts to promote that De-
 sign.

Conclusion. Having now finished my Review
 of *The Life of Reginald Pole*, and
 shewn that the Author of it has great-
 ly misrepresented facts and authorities, to recommend
 his Hero to our esteem and imitation ; in order to
 inspire his Readers with a love of those corruptions
 in Religion which he embraced, and with a desire to
 restore them in this kingdom, by those means, with-

A a 3 out

* Bp. *Tonstal*'s Sermon, on Palm-Sunday in 1538, men-
 tioned by *Strype* in his *Memorials Ecclesiastical*, vol. 1.
 p. 338.

out which they cannot be supported, a reconciliation with the Pope and the re-establishment of his Supremacy : means, which if persuasion has not force enough to recommend, ought (in his opinion) to be introduced even by sedition and rebellion, from the encouraging examples of that great *Patriot*, St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, and those *Martyrs* also who were hanged for treason under Queen *Elizabeth* ;—Permit me, Mr. *Phillips*, to leave your Book, and apply myself to you, in testimony of my Christian Charity and Good Will to your Person, however justly I may resent your attempt as a Polemical Historian. There are connections betwixt us, which give me a title to address you, as my *Countryman*, my *Fellow-Subject*, and a *Christian Brother*.

As my *Countryman*, pray for the peace of our *Jerusalem* : for your brethren and companions sakes wish her prosperity ; nor endeavour to prevent her, by such publications as these, or any other seditious attempts, from being a *City at unity with itself*. You must be sensible, that though we have borne with those of your Communion, whilst they appeared too few to do us any mischief, yet you cannot increase without danger to us. The methods therefore which you, and others of you, are taking to add to your numbers, must diminish the likelihood of your living in tranquility amongst us : we know we cannot be safe, if yours become the prevailing profession ; and therefore we must, when we see it attempted, and you may be assured we shall, execute such of our Laws against you as are necessary for our own preservation, or enact such as may be more properly executed. You have made a very bad use of our
long

long suspension of the old ones, and should be cautious of provoking us to new provisions; for if you imagine that we shall continue supine, till you are a match for us, you may find yourselves greatly mistaken; and if ever a Contest happens on this point, it will be a dreadful one.

Can you then wish to see your Country plunged in the horrors of Civil War? can you attempt to excite a new *Pilgrimage of Grace*, zealously contending to ravish from us that *Liberty*, which, in indulgence to your hereditary prejudices, reaches out its Civil protection to you? You express a sense of your happiness in living under the equity and moderation of these times; perhaps multitudes of your friends are flying from the resentment of their respective states to bask in the sun-shine of *English* liberty; live and enjoy it: but *use not this liberty as a cloke of maliciousness*, nor grudge it to your Countrymen, while they extend it to you. How would Roman Catholic powers treat their Protestant Subjects, were they first to give them such a protection as you enjoy here, and then receive such a return for it, as you and those of your Communion make here? How would they treat the Author of a book written in such a manner against their established Church and Laws, as yours is against ours? How would you think he ought to be treated? Be so good as to consider these Questions, and what plain answer can be returned to them.

Consider further, in what confusion and disturbance of *property* you are laboring to embroil your Country: You tell us the Abbey and Church

Lands, by the mediation of *Pole*, have been secured to the Possessors and confirmed by the Pope: but we know the precarious tenure when your Pope shall be able to give effect to the Decrees of his Predecessors; the security granted was *intended* to be but temporary, *Pole* himself persuading the Possessors *to give back* the apple, and threatening if they did not, that it *should be taken from them*, and the losers whipped into the bargain if they pretended to cry.

But above all consider, have you a heart capable of undertaking to bring the brand to kindle those dreadful fires again through the Kingdom, which disgraced the administration of your Patriot Hero; and to sacrifice in them your fellow citizens, friends, and benefactors. Should Popery once more prevale in *England*, the Protestant cause would be sunk so low, that a return of all the old barbarities might justly be feared. Can you then desire the Revival of them? Are you really so much of the same spirit with your Predecessors in Queen *Mary's* days? how much esteem do you hope to conciliate from wishes of this complection? what thanks do you conceive your Country is indebted to you for labors to so bloody a purpose?

As my *Fellow Subject*, dare you openly avow an allegiance to a foreign Potentate, and endeavour to persuade Englishmen to submit to any earthly Prince as above their natural King? Does the Duty of *submitting to the King as Supreme* allow you to withdraw your own allegiance, and to employ your abilities to withdraw that of others from him, and
yield

yield it to an alien Usurper? do you regard the example of *Pole* more than the Precept of St. *Peter* himself?

Is your Loyalty no better instructed than to wish to appropriate a third part of the revenues of his Kingdom in the support of a Monastick standing army, consisting of *some hundred thousand persons*^u, banded together to defend the REGALIA STI. PETRI, in opposition to their King; and to yield, as to *Peter*, the pence stamped with the image and superscription of *Cæsar*?

Must the Kings of *England* again do homage to the Pope for their Crowns, and hold them as Vassals but at his pleasure? Shall they be denied the commerce and assistance of their Subjects at a nod of a Supreme Tyrant, and be deprived of their Kingdoms by virtue of a right which you contend for in his Holiness, whenever his supposed *universal superintendence* shall persuade him that it is proper to make use of such means^w; and when fancied provocations shall suggest to his Subjects that this method of redress is lawful^x?

Lastly, As a *Christian Brother*, permit me to remind you of that exhortation of the Author of the *Hebrews*, obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves^y. The visible Church of *Christ* in this Kingdom has its known spiritual Governours by regular Succession, whom you ought to remember, and whose faith follow: their faith is primitive, for
next

^u Vol. 1, p. 218.
168. ^y Cor. xiii. 17.

^w Ibid, p. 178.

^x Ibid, p.

next to the Scriptures the antient Creeds are their Symbol and Test. It is a faith 1500 years older than the distinguishing Creed of *Pius IV.* which, while it professes to approve them as the only foundation*, would inconsistently impose novel doctrines, decreed to be articles of faith but 200 years ago; and all unknown to the Church of *Christ* for 600 years, most of them for a thousand. Our faith therefore is certainly right by your own acknowledgment; and your obedience is consequently due to those spiritual Governours, regularly sent and appointed over you; they *watch for your souls as they that must give account*, yet knowing the bounds of their commission, they desire *not to be Lords over your faith*, but permit you to *judge what they say*. It is your concern to discharge your heart of prejudices, that you do not obstinately profess errors at the expence of Schism; for if the account they give of you be, through your fault, *with grief*, the event will be *unprofitable to you*. Learn from your favorite Cardinal, that the impiousness of the Court of *Rome*, and the simony of its *Apostolical Chamber*, are such flagrant abuses as to stand in need of Reformation; which was also the opinion of many members of your own Church, who complained of them in every age for six Centuries before they were confirmed at *Trent*: but do not labor,

* Symbolum Fidei quo sancta Ecclesia Romana utitur tanquam principium in quo omnes qui fidem Christi profitentur necessario conveniunt, ut *fundamentum firmum et unicum*, contra quod portæ inferi nunquam prævalebunt, totidem verbis quibus in *omnibus Ecclesiis legitur*, exprimendum esse censuit. Concil. Trident. Sess. iii. de Symbolo Niceno.

labor, as the Cardinal inconsistently did, to re-establish those corruptions again in that part of *Christ's* Church which has discharged itself of them. Learn from him to reconcile *St. Paul* with *St. James*, and see the necessity of joining *Faith* and *Works*: but endeavour not with him, to burn those who wish to preserve them as inseparable as the fruit and the tree, knowing, that the fruit cannot be produced without the tree, nor can the tree be good that produces no fruit. And by forsaking acknowledged corruptions, and paying a due obedience to your Provincial Governours, endeavour to *keep the unity of the faith, in the bond of peace.*

But, if neither the natural regard which all men have for their Country, the allegiance due to your Prince by the laws of God and of your Country, nor the obedience required to your spiritual Governours by the Apostolical rules and ancient Canons, have any influence upon you, what is there *particular* in the present Crisis to provoke or tempt this so extraordinary an effort of Popish Zeal? provocation there can be none on the part of your Governours; you yourself acknowledge the equity and moderation of the times. One would suspect there was something remarkably favorable to your cause at this juncture, which makes such a preparatory incitement expedient. This may be from the late great Increase of your Church in this Kingdom: For doubtless it has increased, though I am persuaded less than its Partisans boast, and some good persons fear, and some ill-meaning ones pretend; which Increase may be owing partly to an indolent inattention, but certainly nothing worse, in some of us of the Clergy, and
yet

yet not in many of them : but in a much greater degree to the covert methods, in which artful emissaries procede ; engaging simple and ignorant persons, beyond retreat, by false assertions and sophistical arguments, by promises and bribes, before their Ministers have any knowledge of the attempt. In the large Parishes of *London* and *Westminster* such knowledge is peculiarly difficult to procure. And further in those great Cities, it may be apprehended, that much of the evil is owing to the imprudence of some of the upper sort, in committing the care of themselves and their households to foreign servants of that Church, who will not lay out their Masters money but with persons of their own persuasion ; and take all other opportunities, of which they have many, for bringing over Converts to it. Hence the great number of Converts which were boasted of in the late rebellion ; but a much greater progress in this work may be justly apprehended by the reinforcement of Laborers in it furnished, or likely to be furnished, by a Society so dangerous to Civil Government, that the Princes of *Europe*, in their own Communion, are banishing them from *their* several states ; and we, it is imagined, not so prudently connected and attentive to our own Interests as they are, shall give them shelter in *ours*. Yet, at the same time that they are dangerous to *Civil* Power, they are strenuous asserters of the *Papal* ; particularly encouraged and protected by the Pope, and prime favorites with you, Sir. Therefore a brief view of this most compact Phalanx, and of their discipline, may be peculiarly seasonable at this time.

This

This Society was founded by a Soldier, and the General of the Order is invested with the most absolute Imperial authority. The Members are dispersed abroad throughout the World in thirty-seven *Provinces*, of which *France* contained five. They live in *Houses* or *Colleges*, each under the Government of a *Superior* or *Rector*; out of which one is chosen by the *General* * to preside over the Province, thence stiled the *Provincial*; who is not only chosen by the *General*, for a certain term, usually of three years, but he grants, restrains, or enlarges his powers at pleasure. The *General* likewise appoints, or permits the *Provincial* to appoint the *local Superiors* and *Rectors of Colleges*; but, in the latter case, the *General* is to approve and confirm, or reject; and in all cases to reform and remove at will the several *Superiors*. Thus the whole Government rests in the *General*, on whom the Subalterns depend absolutely†. And that the *General* may know, direct, and employ every Individual, as he shall judge most conducive to the good of the Society, the *Superiors* and *Rectors* are to examine strictly all under their respective charges, as well the *Professed* as *Candidates*, once or twice a year; in which scrutinies, the persons examined are to lay open the whole state of their souls, and a perfect account of their past

* A generali Proposito, ut a capite, universa facultas Provincialium egreditur, ac per eos ad locales; per hos autem ad singulares personas descendat. Instit. Soc. Jes. vol. 1. constit. part 8. cap. 1. §. 6.

† Ut bene gubernetur Societas, expediri valde videtur, ut præpositus generalis omnem habeat auctoritatem in Societatem. Constit. part 9. cap. 3. §. 1.

past life †; that the several *Superiors** may transmit to their *Provincial* the names and characters of every one in their *House* or *College*, his particular qualities and abilities, what are his defects, to what vices most inclined, and the very secret movements and propensities of his mind. This particular description the *Superiors* are to send weekly to the *Provincial*; from which the several *Provincials* every month are to send an account to the *General* of the state of their respective Provinces, that he may have an exact knowledge of every concern, and every person in *Europe* belonging to this Society, in order to provide for the general welfare of it, and employ the
fittest

† Quicumque hanc societatem in Domino sequi volet... debeat conscientiam suam magnâ cum humilitate, puritate et caritate manifestare, re nullâ...celatâ, et totius anteaetæ vitæ rationem integram,...reddat. Exam. Gener. cap. 4. §. 36.

* Superiores domorum et Rectores scribant singulis hebdomadis ad suum Provinciale...de statu personarum et rerum omnium...et quod fieri poterit, curent ut omnia tanquam presentia Provincialis cernat...Provinciales omnium Provinciarum Europæ scribant ad Generalem semel quolibet mense...curabunt ut status totius Provinciæ benè explicent...et in universum ita scribere debent, ut Generalis omnium rerum, omniumque personarum statum quoad ejus fieri possit, ante oculos habeat. Regul. Societ. Art. de formulâ scribendi. §. 2, 3, 7, 11.

Catalogum unum omnium domorum...et alterum personarum omnium...ubi eorum nomina et qualitates scribantur. Constit. part 9. cap. 6. §. 3.

Breviter perstringendo dotes unius cujusque...propensionum ac motionum animi, et ad quos defectus vel peccata fuerint vel sint magis propensi et incitati.

fittest instruments †. And that he may be as secure of their obedience as of their abilities and qualifications for the work designed, every Member is required by the Founder himself to obey with the most ready and blind obedience whatever his *Superior* shall command, nay, if he only intimates, and does not express his pleasure ; persuaded that all he commands is just, however appearances or private judgment may contradict ; looking on his directions as the will and command of God, and obeying as implicitly as *Abraham* when directed to slay his Son, or as blindly as the weapon in the hand of the smiter ‡.

And

† Cognoscat quoad ejus fieri poterit, conscientiam eorum qui sub ejus obedientiâ sunt, ac præcipuè Præpositorum Provincialium et aliorum quibus munera majoris momenti committit. Constit. part 9. cap. 3. §. 19.

Ita enim melius intelligentur, quæ ad personas attinet, meliusque totum Societatis corpus ad Dei gloriam regi poterit. Reg. Societ.

‡ Ut statuatis vobiscum ipsi quicquid superior præcepit, ipsius Dei præceptum esse et voluntatem, atque ut et credendo quæ Catholica fides proponit, toto animo assensuque vestro statim incumbitis, sic ad ea facienda quæcunque superior dixerit, cæco quodam impetu voluntatis, pariendi cupidi, sine ullâ prorsus disquisitione feramini. Sic egisse credendus est Abraham filium suum jussus. Epist. præposit. Gen. p. 24.

Non solum in rebus obligatoriis, sed etiam in aliis, licet nihil aliud quam signum voluntatis superioris, sine ullo expresso videretur, ita ut...ad ejus vocem perinde ac si à Christo Domino egrederetur...quam promptissimi sumus. Constit. part 6. cap. 2. §. 1.

—Omnia justa esse nobis persuadendo, omnem sententiam et judicium nostrum contrarium, cæcâ quâdam obedientiâ, abnegando. Ibid.

Et

And the *General* residing at *Rome*, under the protection and influence of the Pope, the abilities and services of the whole Society are ultimately referred to him, and directed by him. For the same reason that the *General* limits the government of the *Provincials* to three years, lest a continuance of power should enable him to become independent, *Paul IV.* and *Pius V.* and *Sextus Quintus*, determined to limit the government of the *General* to a like period: the Society promised obedience, but constantly found means to elude the performance of it: *Gregory XIV.* perceiving that the increase of their influence was beneficial to the Papacy, while, by the vow of obedience given by the *General*, and by his residence at *Rome*, his Holiness could easily find means of availing himself of it, he granted by his Bull in 1591, that the government of the *General* should be monarchical and perpetual ||. The ill effects on Civil Society from this despotick government of the *General*,
and

Et sibi quisque persuadeat quod qui sub obedientiâ vivant, se ferri ac regi divinâ providentiâ per superiores suos finire debent, proinde ac si cadaver essent, quod quoque versus, ferri et quâcunque ratione tractari se finit, vel similiter atque senis baculus, qui ubicunque, et quâcunque in re velit, eo uti qui eum manu tenet, ei inservit. Ibid.

|| Ipsiusque membra per universum orbem dispersa, per omnimodam hanc subordinationem suo capiti colligata, promptius atque facilius à summo Pontifice Christi in terris vicario, ad varias functiones, juxta eorum peculiarem vocationem et speciale votum, dirigi atque moveri possint. Literæ Apostolicæ, p. 103.

See Memoire à consulter et consultation pour Jean Lioncy contre le Corps et Societé des P. P. Jesuites, p. 66, 120.

and blind and stupid obedience of every Member to his *Superior*, has been represented to the Christian States by the King of *Portugal* in 1759 : the exile of the Order which followed, from thence and from *France*, and which is believed to have crouded our hospitable Shores with no very desirable emigrants, is not so great a hardship to men under this discipline, as our compassion at first is apt to imagine ; for not having been permitted to enjoy any private personal property in their native Countries, by the rules of their Order, they are equally interested in the property of the whole, in every Province where their Brethren and Fellows are found. This Popish Society, which Popish States are afraid of, and are driving out of all their borders, you, Mr. *Phillips*, are recommending to a Protestant one : with what view you yourself best know. But it is an injury to your Country, of which your favorite Cardinal disdained to be guilty : when the Jesuites solicited to be established in the new raised Monasteries here, to the exclusion of the old possessors, the *Benedictines*, as an Order useless in comparison of theirs, and not doubting but that they, by their dealing with the consciences of those who were dying, should soon recover the greatest part of the Goods of the Church², yet *Pole*, though zealous for the Papal Supremacy, though earnest for the restoration of the Abbey Lands, recoiled from the mischievous encouragement of that Society in *England*. There is no need to enter into dispute with you concerning this your favorite Order ; for their

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merits

² Burnet, vol. ii. p. 327.

merits are at present much too well known, amongst Papists as well as Protestants, to leave you any prospect of re-establishing their character. But why do you call Bishop *Burnet's* account of the Jesuits' application to *Pole* for introducing and settling this Order here, a *shuffling* Article? He tells you from what MS. he gathered his information; you confirm that *Ignatius Loyola* wrote to him, and offered to educate the English Youth *abroad* as Seminaries, to which you admit the Legate, perhaps, had not leisure then to attend: where is the improbability of their desiring some of the old Monastick Foundations in this Kingdom for such establishments, and that the Jesuits should be out of measure offended at the Legate, for not entertaining their proposition? The Bishop quotes his authority for what he says, is that *shuffling*? or do you think it impossible that the Jesuits should be so unjust, as to desire what had been left to other Orders should be converted to theirs? It is to me no wonder they should make such a request, because they did make a like one, afterwards, to the Emperour *Ferdinand II.* assuring him, that instead of restoring to the several Religious Orders what the Protestants had taken from them, he was *bound in conscience* to employ it in founding and endowing a number of Colleges of their Society^a. That *Pole* wrote a very complaisant Letter to *Ignatius* is no evidence at all on the other side; for the more firmly he was determined to have nothing to do with his new Order, the civilier words he would use of course. Not Bishop *Burnet* therefore, but Mr. *Philips*

^a See Memoire à consulter contre les Jesuites, p. 166.

lips has shuffled on this occasion: who might very well have acknowledged the fact, and turned it to the praise of his Hero. But he had less regard for truth, and even for *POLE*, than for these dear Friends. It was reason enough for Mr. *Phillips* to introduce their Founder *Ignatius*, that *Pole* once wrote a Letter to him; but what connection had *Francis Xavier* with *Pole*, who intrudes upon us, uncalled, in both parts of this Work? none at all: but he has a sufficient connection with Mr. *Phillips*'s motive to write this Book. *Xavier* was a Papist, and one of his favorite Order, a Jesuit; whose Life, we are told, *has been the object of admiration, not to the Catholick Church only, but to those who are estranged from her Tenets*. Particularly the Authors he hath cited have vied with each other in celebrating the uncommon Gifts he received to execute the office of Ambassadour of *Jesus Christ*. These uncommon Gifts, I presume, mean the miracles or wonders of an Apostle, which he elsewhere says were performed by him. His Authors are *Baldeus*'s History of the *Indies*. *Hackluyt*'s Discoveries of the English, part 2, vol. 11. and *Tavernier* ^b.

Baldeus, in his description of the coasts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel*, ch. 13. says, at *Goa*, in the Jesuit's Chapel lies intrenched the Body of *Francis Xaverius*, of which the Portuguese relate strange Miracles;—for myself, says *Baldeus*, I am very willing to own, that my pen is not capable of expressing the worth of so great a Man; though at the same time I am of opinion, that if *Xaverius* were alive

B b 2

now,

^b P. 177, and Note.

now, he would disown many things, especially as to his *Miracles*, since published by his Followers^c. In this manner *Baldeus* vies with others in celebrating *Xavier's* uncommon gifts. In *Hackluyt* I only find it asserted by an anonymous Portuguese Writer, that *Francis Xavier*, a most devout man of the aforesaid Society, left an example to the rest of his Associates, how they should do their best to plant the Religion of Christ, page 98. *Tavernier*, as *Bayle* tells us, did not write his own Travels : *M. de la Chapelle*, who wrote the third volume for him, and made him, though a Protestant, speak the language of Rome, yet has not given the least hint of his working Miracles, in the only place where he is mentioned^d. *M. L'Advocat*, above-mentioned, ascribes no Miracles to *Xavier* ; nor does *Hofman* in his *Lexicon Universale* ; he only says, that his Followers in their Letters ascribe to themselves many Miracles, of which, however, sensible men of their own Communion doubt ; and observes, that *Xavier* himself acknowledges, that, he had not the Gift of Tongues, but was forced to learn Japanese in the ordinary way.

But whatever your reasons may be, for thus extolling the Jesuits, or what thanks soever your Popish Superiors may give you for this wanton disturbance of your Country, which permits you and your associates to live in peace amongst them, we acknowledge the goodness of the Divine permission, in thus suffering you to awaken us from a forgetfulness of

^c Churchill's Collect. of Voyages, vol. iii. p. 549, edit. 3d.

^d Relation du Japon, p. 6, 7.

of those corruptions and that tyranny from which he has thrice delivered us. Security is often fatal, and your performance is like the alarm of the rattle snake, which puts the passenger on his guard. We might forget the Controversy were we not, by these efforts, called upon to review it. God permits these skirmishes to exercise us, lest we contract an indolence that might destroy us. As the idolatrous Nations were not to be entirely consumed by the Israelites, *lest the beasts of the field should increase upon them*. When like attacks repeated call for a like defence, it would be more nice than wise to neglect using the old weapons, only because they have been already successful. If those, which your unprovoked attack upon our Constitution in Church and State has obliged me to draw forth in defence of both, convince you, that the Bishop of *Rome* has no jurisdiction in this realm from Scripture; that we, holding the form of sound words commanded by Christ, and delivered by the Apostles, under Apostolical Discipline, are Members of the true Church, however others may cut themselves off from our communion: and that the additional Articles in the Creed of Pope *Pius* are novelties, unknown to the first Ages of Christianity, and which the Council of *Trent* had no authority to impose on a Church unwilling to receive them; you will then see your obligation to *submit yourself to the King as Supreme*, and to *obey the spiritual Governors of your national Church, who have the rule over you*. One of us must be guilty of Schism: And
 though

* Deut. vii. 22.

though the infirmities of fallible men should make us mutually bear with one another, yet it behoves each of us, for his own sake, to avoid the punishment of Schism, by a careful avoiding the guilt of it. This I have conscientiously endeavoured to do on *my* part, knowing how much it concerns me: I hope *you* will take as much honest pains on yours. And if we still continue to think differently, be you careful not to behave seditiously, and God pardon the involuntary errors of either !

F I N I S.

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A Review of Mr. Phillip's History of the Life of Reginald Pole

London 1766

Biogr. 905 pb

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